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No. 200.

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> " For the others I never have opened,
> But those are the books I read." [2]

And when Andrew Lang, recognizing Dobscn's preference for
Horace, wished to present his friend with a welcome gift, he
chose a small Elzevir edition and wrote on the title-page this
charming inscription:

> " The Bard was short to outward view,
> And ' short,'—to match,—this copy, too;
> But, being HORACE, still he's dear,
> And still,—though cropped,—an *Elzevir!* " [3]

From the beginning Dobson was impressed by the eternally
human types which he found in Horace's poetry, and after read-
ing Sir Theodore Martin's little book he gave expression to his
feeling (which Kipling shared) that the intervening centuries,
despite the progress of knowledge and the advance of science,
had brought no fundamental change in " the robust and brass-
bound man ":

> " Our ' world,' to-day,
> Tried in the scale, would scarce outweigh
>   Your Roman cronies;
> Walk in the Park—you'll seldom fail
> To find a Sybaris on the rail
>   By Lydia's ponies,
> Or hap on Barrus, wigged and stayed,
> Ogling some unsuspecting maid.
>
>   .   .   .   .   .   .
>
> And look, dyspeptic, brave, and kind,
> Comes dear Maecenas, half behind
>   Terentia's skirting;
> Here's Pyrrha, ' golden haired ' at will;
> Prig Damasippus, preaching still;
>   Asterie flirting,—
> Radiant, of course. We'll make her black,—
> Ask her when Gyges' ship comes back.
>
> So with the rest. Who will may trace
> Behind the new each elder face
>   Defined as clearly;
> Science proceeds, and man stands still;

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[2] Cf. *The Complete Poetical Works of Austin Dobson* (India Paper
ed., 1923), p. 194.

[3] Austin Dobson, *A Bookman's Budget*, p. 92.

> Our 'world' to-day's as good or ill,—
>   As cultured (nearly),—
> As yours was, Horace! You alone,
> Unmatphed, unmet, we have not known." [4]

But when Dobson returned to the *Odes* and *Epistles* after the interview with Tennyson it was primarily to make a more intensive study of the precepts and practice of the most meticulous of craftsmen. The ideal of careful workmanship resulting in perfection of form the Alexandrians had passed on to Horace through Catullus and his school. And from the *Ars Poetica* Dobson had learned the lesson of the "*limae labor.*" He admires the Age of Pope when

> ". . . the Muse labour'd . . . chiefly with the File" [5]

and in *Ars Victrix* (an excellent paraphrase of Gautier's *L'Art*) he reminds the poet that only the patient artist can hope to have his work survive the "*innumerabilis Annorum series*":

> "Leave to the tiro's hand
>   The limp and shapeless style,
> See that thy form demand
>   The labour of the file.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> All passes. ART alone
>   Enduring stays to us;
> The Bust outlasts the throne,—
>   The Coin, Tiberius;
>
> Even the gods must go;
>   Only the lofty Rhyme
> Not countless years o'erthrow,—
>   Not long array of time." [6]

"*Cosa bella mortal passa e non d'arte.*" [6a] It was the same reverence for art that inspired Virgil to spend seven years in writing the two thousand odd lines of the *Georgics,* and led Horace to advise the prolific poets of his day to turn the stilus often and keep their work from the world until full nine years had passed.

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[4] *Op. cit.,* pp. 89-90.

[5] *Op. cit.,* p. 209.

[6] *Op. cit.,* pp. 141-142.

[6a] "What is fair in men, passes away, but not so in art."—Leonardo da Vinci, *The Literary Works* (ed. J. P. Richter), Vol. I, § 651.

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a work by its author's purpose (*Ut pictura, poesis*),[18] we hear
again in *An Epistle to An Editor:*

> " Then don't be ' new ';
> Be ' old '. The Old is still the True.
> Nature (said GAUTIER) never tries
> To alter her accustom'd dyes;
>
> .   .   .   .
>
> Yet don't expand a trifling blot,
> Or ban the book for what it's not. . . ." [19]

The Horatian texts, clarity (*lucidus ordo*)[20] and brevity
(*quicquid praecipies, esto brevis*),[21] form the heart of Dobson's
Advice to a Poet:

> " My counsel to the budding bard
> Is, ' Don't be long,' and ' Don't be hard.'
> Your ' gentle Public,' good my Friend,
> Won't read what they can't comprehend;
> And what they really like the best,
> Is something short and well-expressed,
> Therefore, if you would hold their ear,
> Be brief, above all things, and clear." [22]

By reason both of his ideal of art and his natural gifts, Dob-
son was eminently fitted to attempt the difficult task of trans-
lating the odes of Horace. No other modern writer has so suc-
cessfully reproduced the Horatian delicate grace and studied
felicity of phrase. In translating individual odes Dobson has
for the most part chosen as his medium the old French stanzaic
forms—the rondel,[23] the rondeau,[24] the triolet,[25] the villanelle,[26]
and the ballade.[27] Dobson's love of these measures was prob-
ably inherited—as his son suggests [28]—from his French grand-

[18] *Ars Poet.,* 361.

[19] *Op. cit.,* pp. 413-414.

[20] *Ars Poet.,* 41.

[21] *Ars Poet.,* 335.

[22] *A Bookman's Budget,* p. 187.

[23] *Vitas hinnuleo.*

[24] *Poscimur, Siquid; Albi, ne doleas; Extremum Tanain; O fons
Bandusiae; Vixi puellis.*

[25] *Persicos odi.*

[26] *Tu ne quaesieris.*

[27] *O navis.*

[28] Alban Dobson's Biographical Note in *Austin Dobson, An Anthology
of Prose and Verse* (1922).

mother. Moreover, their strict laws of composition had been
fully discussed and illustrated by Théodore de Banville in his
Petit Traité de Poésie Française (first published in 1872).
The chapter dealing with *"Les Poëmes traditionnels à forme
fixe"* inspired Dobson with an ambition to submit his 'easy
Muse' to the 'Gallic bonds.' [29] In a field in which Rossetti and
Andrew Lang met with but partial success, Dobson's victory
was complete; and it is to him that the honor belongs of having
naturalized in English these French lyric forms which he mas-
tered so thoroughly as to win the enthusiastic praise of de Ban-
ville himself, as we learn from the letter included by Mr. Alban
Dobson in his selections from his father's correspondence which
recently appeared in the *Cornhill Magazine:* [30] ". . . du pre-
mier coup vous êtes entré dans l'intimité de Charles d'Orléans,
de Ronsard et de Voiture." With what skill Dobson employed
those exotic forms of verse to convey the thought and spirit of
Horace's lyrics may be judged by his rendering of *O fons
Bandusiae* as a rondeau:

> " O BABBLING Spring, than glass more clear,
>   Worthy of wreath and cup sincere,
>   To-morrow shall a kid be thine
>   With swelled and sprouting brows for sign,—
>   Sure sign!—of loves and battles near.
>
> Child of the race that butt and rear!
> Not less, alas! his life-blood dear
>   Must tinge thy cold wave crystalline,
>   O babbling Spring!
>
> Thee Sirius knows not. Thou dost cheer
> With pleasant cool the plough-worn steer,—
>   The wandering flock. This verse of mine
>   Will rank thee one with founts divine;
>   Men shall thy rock and tree revere,
>   O babbling Spring! " [31]

No less happy is Dobson's use of the sonnet-form in his transla-
tion of the ode to the rustic Phidyle [32] and of iambics in his ver-
sions of the invitation to Maecenas [33] (*Vile potabis modicis*)

[29] *Op. cit.*, p. 327.
[30] August, 1927.
[31] *Op. cit.*, pp. 335-336.

[32] *Op. cit.*, p. 301.
[33] *Op. cit.*, p. 449.

and of the epilogue to the first book of *Epistles*.[34] His imitations of *Quid fles, Asterie* [35] and of the epode, *Beatus ille qui procul negotiis*,[36] succeed admirably in giving a modern flavor to the whole while not departing too far from the original. Witness the closing verse of *Outward Bound* suggested by Horace's advice to Asterie when she hears beneath her window the plaintive notes of Enipeus' flute:

> " Be warned in time. Without a trace
> Of acquiescence on your face,
> Hear, in the waltz's breathing space,
>   His airy patter;
> Avoid the confidential nook;
> If, when you sing, you find his look
> Grow tender, close your music-book,
>   And end the matter."

Dobson's obligation to his Roman forbear is seen again in his frequent use of a Horatian quotation as a title or motto for a group of verses or for an individual poem.[37] Occasionally he weaves into his verse a Latin phrase, in *La Bonne Comédie* borrowing Persius' tribute to the spirit of Horace's *Satires:*

> " True Comedy *circum praecordia ludit*—
> It warms the heart's cockles. 'Twas thus that he
>   viewed it. . . ." [38]

Familiar words from the *Ars Poetica* and from the *Epistles* reappear in *The Metamorphosis* (referring to the gods' visits to mankind) :

> " No doubt their Purpose oft would be
> Some ' *Nodus dignus Vindice* '," [39]

and in the contest in song in *An Autumn Idyll:*

> " How is it, Umpire? Though the motto's threadbare
> ' *Coelum, non animum* '—is, I take it, true." [40]

The humorous close of the dialogue between Horace and the old lawyer, Trebatius,[41] furnishes Dobson a phrase with which he ends the fable of the Tortoise and the Rabbits in which an

[34] *Op. cit.*, pp. 302-303.
[35] *Op. cit.*, pp. 278-280.
[36] *Op. cit.*, pp. 409-410.
[37] See *Appendix* I.

[38] *Op. cit.*, p. 435.
[39] *Op. cit.*, p. 39; *Ars Poet.*, 191.
[40] *Op. cit.*, p. 65; *Epist.*, 1, 11, 27.
[41] *Sat.*, 2, 1, 86.

embarrassing question from one of the congregation nullifies the
effect of the sermon on Promptitude and puts the preacher to
rout:

> " ' If *Promptitude* so much can do
> Why don't *you* try the practice, too?'
>   This ẁas, as HAMLET says, ' a hit ';
> *Clergy* was posed by *Mother-wit.*
> The Tortoise the horizon scanned ;
> He had no repartee at hand;
> So, finding inspiration fail,
> He drew his head in, then his tail.
> His audience scampered off in glee:
> *Risu solvuntur tabulae.*" [42]

Especially pleasing is the passage from *Verses Read at the Din-
ner of the Omar Khayyam Club* in which Dobson shows some-
thing of Horace's ironical spirit in his seeming preference for
the Persian poet:

> " *Persicos odi*—Horace said,
>   And therefore is no longer read.
>   Time, who could simply not endure
>   Slight to the Bard of Naishápûr,
>   (Time, by the way, was rather late
>   For one so often up-to-date!)
>   Went swiftly to the Roll of Fame
>   And blotted Q. H. F. his name,
>   Since when, for every Youth or Miss
>   That knows *Quis multa gracilis,*
>   There are a hundred who can tell
>   What Omar thought of Heav'n and Hell. . . . " [43]

Again, in *July* he draws upon the Soracte ode [44] with its closing
picture of the boys and girls at twilight playing at hide and
seek:

> " And it's O for the sea and the sky!
>   And it's O for the boat and the bay!
>
> .   .   .   .
>
>   For the stroll when the moon is high
>   To the nook by the Flag-house gray!
>   For the *risus ab angulo* shy
>   From the Someone we designate ' Di! '
>
> .   .   .   .

---

[42] *Op. cit.*, p. 444.
[43] *Op. cit.*, pp. 357-358.   [44] *Odes*, 1, 9.

> For the token we snatch on the sly!
> (With nobody there to say Fie!)
> Hurrah! for the sea and the sky! " [45]

Dobson not only skillfully incorporates into his verse phrases in the original but also frequently introduces a translation or an adaptation of a Horatian passage. For example, the line, " For the token we snatch on the sly! ", is an echo of the words:

> " Pignusque dereptum lacertis
>   Aut digito male pertinaci."

Here again, as is natural, the modern poet has drawn upon the *Odes* especially, though in a few instances the *Satires* and *Epistles* have served as a source.[46]

That Austin Dobson has been named the English Horace is due not only to his finish in workmanship, his skill as a translator, and his frequent use of Horatian expressions, but also to the fact that the English poet's nature is (in many of its aspects) in harmonious accord with that of his Latin master. Both realize their limitations and, in general, confine themselves to a narrow field, giving exquisite expression to the thoughts and feelings that go to make up the lives of ordinary human beings. Though both cry out at intervals, " *O rus, quando ego te aspiciam?* " [47] yet the Muse which they worship is essentially an " urban Muse." [48] The two poets are temperamentally akin in their gentlemanliness of feeling, in their gracious practice of addressing their poems to friends,[49] and in their habit of mingling the grave and the gay. The Horatian irony, made familiar to us in *Ode, Satire,* and *Epistle,* is a marked feature of the verse of the English poet. In the charming *Vixi puellis nuper idoneus,*[50] Horace tells of his apparently voluntary retirement after an honorable service under the standard of Venus. The torches and the bow are hung upon the wall of her temple and we are ready to crown the victor when at the

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[45] *Op. cit.,* p. 372; cf. also *A Story from a Dictionary, Appendix* II, 10.

[46] See *Appendix* II.

[47] *Sat.,* 2, 6, 60.

[48] *On London Stones, Op. cit.,* p. 326.

[49] See the *Cornhill Magazine,* Oct., 1927, for Stedman's approval of Dobson's revival of Horace's practice.

[50] *Odes,* 3, 26.

end comes the unexpected prayer that the Cyprian queen may
give the obdurate Chloe just one touch with her uplifted lash.
So Dobson, in genial ironical vein, destroys our illusions as we
reach the surprising conclusion of his reverie suggested by the
name of Dorothy upon a window pane:

> "These last I spoke. Then Florence said,
> Below me,—' Dreams? Delusions, Fred! '
> Next, with a pause,—she bent the while
> Over a rose, with roguish smile—
> ' But how disgusted, Sir, you'll be
> To hear *I* scrawled that "Dorothy." ' " [51]

Dobson's sympathy with this phase of Horace's spirit is seen
not only in his mock tribute to the vogue of Omar (cited above,
p. 9) but also in *A Roman Round-Robin*, to which Dobson
himself refers as " a piece of flippancy." [52] Not to be taken too
seriously is the imagined protest of Horace's friends:

> " Why feign to spread a cheerful feast,
>   And then thrust in our faces
> These barren scraps (to say the least)
>   Of Stoic common-places?
>
> Recount, and welcome, your pursuits:
>   Sing Lydë's lyre and hair;
> Sing drums and Berecynthian flutes;
>   Sing parsley-wreaths; but spare,—
>
> O, spare to sing, what none deny,
>   That things we love decay;
> That Time and Gold have wings to fly;—
>   That all must Fate obey! . . ." [53]

If this be not irony, then the forty years that passed between
the voicing of this protest and the writing of the lines, *On the
Future of Poetry*, brought a change in Dobson's reaction to the
" Stoic common-places " of Horace's lyrics; for in the latter
poem he sings:

> " I hold . . .
>
> That the old notes are still the new,
> If the musician's touch be true—

[51] *Op. cit.*, p. 78.
[52] *Op. cit.*, p. 492.
[53] *Op. cit.*, pp. 182-183.

> Nor can the hand that knows its trade
> Achieve the trite and ready-made;
>
> That your first theme is Human Life,
> Its hopes and fears, its love and strife—
> A theme no custom can efface,
> Common, but never common-place;
>
> For this, beyond all doubt, is plain:
> The Truth that pleased will please again,
> And move men as in bygone years
> When Hector's wife smiled through her tears." [54]

And yet, after all, one feels that Dobson's ear was more attuned to the lighter strains of Horace's lyre:

> " Flaccus, you write us charming songs:
>   No bard we know possesses
> In such perfection what belongs
>   To brief and bright addresses." [55]

Among these " brief and bright addresses " are the graceful lyrics inspired by the long list of Horace's heroines—verses that made an appeal to Dobson in spite of the fact that Lyde and her Roman sisters were far removed from the " English Girl, divine, demure " [56] to whom the modern poet sings. The delicate wit combined with the consummate art of such erotic poems as *Quis multa gracilis* [57] and the amoebaean *Donec gratus eram tibi* [58] struck a responsive chord in the heart of the author of *Ad Rosam* [59] and the delightful lovers' quarrel, *Tu quoque.* [60] Dobson might have joined with Alfred Noyes in singing:

> " Dear Poet of the Sabine Farm,
>
> .　.　.　.　.　.　.　.
>
> You would not blame a modern pen
> For touching love with mirth again." [61]

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[54] *Op. cit.*, p. 461.

[55] *Op. cit.*, p. 182.

[56] *Op. cit.*, p. xi.

[57] *Odes*, 1, 5.

[58] *Odes*, 3, 9.

[59] *Op. cit.*, p. 275.

[60] *Op. cit.*, p. 69.

[61] *A Spring Hat, Collected Poems* (New York, Frederick A. Stokes Co.), Vol. 3, p. 243.

And yet one often finds a pensive strain in the love poems of both Horace and Dobson; in *Quis multa gracilis* and in *A Kiss*,[62] the first of the *Rose-Leaves* triolets, there is in the backward and forward look of both poets a wistfulness which, however, is less explicit in the studied art of the Roman.

But such themes the poet must abandon when he has reached what Keats calls the "quiet coves" of Autumn. So Horace in the opening epistle of the *First Book* (written at the age of forty-five) justifies to Maecenas his giving up lyric poetry in the words:

> "Non eadem est aetas, non mens."

And seven years later when, at the request of Augustus, he again essays the lyric form, he protests against Venus' calling to love's battles one who has passed his tenth lustrum and bids the goddess seek a younger heart:

> "Parce, precor, precor.
> Non sum qualis eram bonae
> Sub regno Cinarae. Desine, dulcium
> Mater saeva Cupidinum,
> Circa lustra decem flectere mollibus
> Iam durum imperiis: abi,
> Quo blandae iuvenum te revocant preces." [63]

In *Growing Gray* (written in his thirty-first year) Dobson presents the Horatian point of view,

> "We have no more the right to find
> That Pyrrha's hair is neatly twined,—
> That Chloe's pretty," [64]

that he may qualify it by the argument contained in the motto of the poem, d'Houdetot's ' *On a l'âge de son coeur.*' But when he, too, passes his tenth lustrum he is in thorough agreement with the Horatian mood and in *To One Who Bids Me Sing* says of his "Muse of Pindus Hill":

> "But She—She can't grow gray; and so,
> Her slave, whose hairs are falling,
> Must e'en his Doric flute forgo,
> And seek some graver calling,—

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[62] *Op. cit.*, p. 323.
[63] *Odes*, 4, 1, 2-8.   [64] *Op. cit.*, p. 293.

> Not ill-content to stand aside,
>   To yield to minstrels fitter
> His singing-robes, his singing-pride,
>   His fancies sweet—and bitter! "[65]

Yet, happily for

> " This age of ours, too seldom stirred
>   With pipe and flute! ",[66]

through more than a quarter of a century after these words were written Dobson occasionally donned " his singing-robes," experiencing an old age, that Horace himself in vain had asked of Apollo, " *nec cithara carentem.*" [67]

APPENDIX

I   HORATIAN TITLES AND MOTTOES

(1) Cf. the " section of fugitive pieces " in *The Complete Poetical Works of Austin Dobson* (India Paper ed. 1923),[1] p. 401:

> *Ludibria Ventis* (Odes, 1, 14, 15-16).

(2) The triolet, *Urceus Exit* (p. 824) (*Ars Poet.*, 22).

(3) *Vignettes in Rhyme* (p. 53):

> leviore plectro (*Odes*, 2, 1, 40).

(4) *Henry Wadsworth Longfellow* (p. 217):

> Nec turpem senectam
> Degere, nec cithara carentem (*Odes*, 1, 31, 19-20).
>
> Cf. Dobson's translation of the motto, *Appendix* II, 9.

(5) *A Story from a Dictionary* (p. 251):

> Sic visum Veneri: cui placet impares
> Formas atque animos sub juga aënea
>   Saevo mittere cum joco (*Odes*, 1, 33, 10-12).
>
> See Dobson's translation of this ode referred to above (p. 6) and his expansion of the motto, *Appendix* II, 10.

(6) *Ad Rosam* (p. 275):

> Mitte sectari, ROSA quo locorum
>   Sera moretur (*Odes*, 1, 38, 3-4).

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[65] *Op. cit.*, p. 307.
[66] *Op. cit.*, p. 329.
[67] *Odes*, 1, 31, 20.
[1] All references in the *Appendix* are to this edition.

(7) *The Poet's Seat* (p. 201):
> Ille terrarum mihi praeter omnes
> Angulus RIDET (*Odes*, 2, 6, 13-14).

(8) *A Gage d'Amour* (p. 92):
> Martiis coelebs quid agam Kalendis
> ———— miraris? (*Odes*, 3, 8, 1, 3).

(9) *To the Mammoth-Tortoise* (p. 181):
> Tuque, Testudo, resonare septem
> Callida nervis (*Odes*, 3, 11, 3-4).

(10) *To Edmund Gosse* (Eight Volumes!) (p. 384):
> Exegi monumentum (*Odes*, 3, 30, 1).

(11) *The Ballad of the Bore* (p. 370):
> Garrulus hunc quando consumet cumque (*Sat.*, 1, 9, 33).

(12) *In Memoriam* (p. 436):
> Exstinctus amabitur idem (*Epist.*, 2, 1, 14).

(13) *The Water-Cure* (p. 257):
> portentaque Thessala rides? (*Epist.*, 2, 2, 209).

(14) *A Roman Round-Robin* (p. 182):
> Haec decies repetita [non] placebit (*Ars Poet.*, 365).

(15) Prologue to '*Eighteenth Century Vignettes*' (Third Series) (p. 316):
> Versate . . . .
> Quid valeant humeri (*Ars Poet.*, 39-40).

II TRANSLATIONS, ADAPTATIONS, AND IMITATIONS OF HORATIAN PHRASES

In addition to the examples already cited, cf. the following:

(1) *The Noble Patron* (pp. 262-263):
> But there—the choice was that or none.
> The lord was found; the thing was done.
> With HORACE and with TOOKE'S *Pantheon*,
> He penned his tributary paean;
> Dispatched his gift, nor waited long
> The meed of his ingenuous song.

These lines allude to such passages as *Odes*, 1, 1, 1-2:
> Maecenas atavis edite regibus,
> O et praesidium et dulce decus meum,

and *Epist.*, 1, 1, 1, 3:
> Prima dicte mihi, summa dicende Camena,
>
> .   .   .   .
>
> Maecenas.

(2) *Horatian Ode on the Tercentenary of 'Don Quixote'* (p. 407):
    I hail your birth—

> Three centuries past—in sunburned Spain
>   And hang, on Time's PANTHEON wall,
> My votive tablet to recall
>   That lasting gain!

See *Odes*, 1, 5, 13-16:

> Me tabula sacer
> Votiva paries indicat uvida
>   Suspendisse potenti
>   Vestimenta maris deo.

(3) *A Case of Cameos* (pp. 123-124):

> *Chalcedony*
> (*The Thefts of Mercury*)
> Here great Apollo, with unbended bow,
> His quiver hard by on a laurel tree,
> For some new theft was rating Mercury.
> Who stood with downcast eyes, and feigned distress,
> As daring not, for utter guiltiness,
> To meet that angry voice and aspect joined.
> His very heel-wings drooped; but yet, not less,
> His backward hand the Sun-God's shafts purloined.

See *Odes*, 1, 10, 9-12:

> Te, boves olim nisi reddidisses
> Per.dolum amotas, puerum minaci
> Voce dum terret, viduus pharetra
>   Risit Apollo.

(4) *The Water-Cure* (p. 259):

> Who then more keen her fate to see
> Than this, the new LEUCONOË,
> On fire to learn the lore forbidden
> In Babylonian numbers hidden?

See *Odes*, 1, 11, 1-3:

> Tu ne quaesieris, scire nefas, quem mihi, quem tibi
> Finem di dederint, Leuconoe, nec Babylonios
> Temptaris numeros.

(5) *An Horatian Ode to the King's Most Excellent Majesty* (pp. 438-439):

> We pray . . . .

> That our State 'Dreadnought' once again
>   May leave in broken seas to veer,
> And shape her course direct and plain,
>   With Thee to steer,

> Into blue sky and water clear,
>> Where she on even keel shall ride,
> Secure from reef and shoal, or fear
>> Of wind and tide.

This passage was probably suggested by Horace's *Ship of State*, *Odes*, 1, 14; cf. especially:

> O navis, referent in mare te novi
> Fluctus! O quid agis? Fortiter occupa
>> Portum! . . . .

>> Tu, nisi ventis
> Debes ludibrium, cave.

.   .   .   .

> Interfusa nitentis
> Vites aequora Cycladas.

(6) *Prologue to 'A Bookman's Budget'* (p. 459):

> Good-bye, my Book. To other eyes
>> With equal mind, I now address you,
> Since in Dame Fortune's lap it lies
>> Either to ban you or to bless you.

> You have been long a 'care not light':
>> If those for whom you were intended
> Refuse to read your page aright,
>> You must not therefore feel offended.

For " a 'care not light' ", see *Odes*, 1, 14, 18:
> Nunc desiderium curaque non levis.

Horace's Envoi to the first book of *Epistles* could not have been far distant from Dobson's mind when he wrote either these verses or the Prologue to the first edition of *Vignettes in Rhyme* (p. 54):

> Go, little book, on this thy first emprize:
> If that thou 'scape the critic Ogre-land,
> And come to where young Beauty, with bright eyes,
> Listless at noon, shall take thee in her hand,
> Tell her that nought in thy poor Master stirs
> Of art, or grace, or song,—that is not Hers.

(7) *An Autumn Idyll* (p. 62):

> Sing me of Her, whose name may not be told.

Dobson has the following note on this passage (p. 490):

> " ' Dicat Opuntiae
> Frater Megillae, quo beatus
>> Vulnere, qua pereat sagitta.' Hor. [*Odes*], 1, 27, [10-12.]

2

How this stanza originally stood escapes me; but—as I well re-
member—it owes its final turn to the late ANTHONY TROLLOPE,—
kindest and most capable of Editors,—who referred me to the
foregoing quotation."

(8) *For ' An Appendix to the Rowfant Library '* .(p. 362):

Where shall we meet his like again?

See *Odes*, 1, 24, 6-8:

> Cui Pudor et Iustitiae Soror,
> Incorrupta Fides, nudaque Veritas
> Quando ullum inveniet parem?

(9) *Henry Wadsworth Longfellow* (p. 217):

' Not to be tuneless in old age! '

See the motto of this poem:

> Nec turpem senectam
> Degere, nec cithara carentem (*Odes*, 1, 31, 19-20).

(10) *A Story from a Dictionary* (p. 251):

> ' Love mocks us all '—as Horace said of old:
>> From sheer perversity, that arch-offender
> Still yokes unequally the hot and cold,
>> The short and tall, the hardened and the tender:
>
> He bids a Socrates espouse a scold,
>> And makes a Hercules forget his gender:—
> *Sic visum Veneri!* Lest samples fail
> I add a fresh one from the page of BAYLE.

This opening verse is an expansion of the motto of the poem:

> Sic visum Veneri: cui placet impares
> Formas atque animos sub juga aënea
>> Saevo mittere cum joco (*Odes*, 1, 33, 10-12).

(11) *To Arthur Waugh* (p. 465):

Time marks our days with white and black.

See *Odes*, 1, 36, 10:

> Cressa ne careat pulchra dies nota.

(12) *A Gentlewoman of the Old School* (p. 11):

> He, finding cheeks unclaimed of care,
> With late-delayed faint roses there.

See *Odes*, 1, 38, 3-4:

> Mitte sectari, rosa quo locorum.
>> Sera moretur.

(13) *Sat Est Vixisse* (p. 470):

> But thou, as dauntless, as unvanquished, thou
> With equal mind, and with unclouded brow.

(Cf. also *Prologue to ' A Bookman's Budget ', supra.*)

See *Odes*, 2, 3, 1:

> Aequam memento rebus in arduis
> Servare mentem.

(14) *A Legacy* (p. 185):

> Ah, Postumus, we all must go:
> This keen North-Easter nips my shoulder;
> My strength begins to fail; I know
> You find me older.

See *Odes*, 2, 14, 1-4:

> Eheu fugaces, Postume, Postume,
> Labuntur anni, nec pietas moram
> Rugis et instanti senectae
> Adferet indomitaeque morti.

(15) *An Autumn Idyll* (p. 62):

> Jove, what a day!   Black Care upon the crupper
> Nods at his post, and slumbers in the sun.

(Cf. also *Verses written for the Menu of the Omar Khayyam Club* (p. 388):

> We that meet to-night
> Have bid Black Care be banished.)

See *Odes*, 3, 1, 40:

> Post equitem sedet atra Cura.

(16) *A Case of Cameos* (p. 123):

> *Agate*
>
> (*The Power of Love*)

> A bolder rider than Bellerophon.

See *Odes*, 3, 12, 8:

> Eques ipso melior Bellerophonte.

(17) *Prologue to Abbey's ' Quiet Life '* (p. 314):

> Dazed with the stir and din of town.

(Cf. also *A City Flower* (p. 269):

> Tired of the din and rattle of wheels.)

See *Odes*, 3, 29, 12:

> Fumum et opes strepitumque Romae.

(18) *To a Friend* (It is most true) (p. 419):

> Though all should die of Me and You.

See *Odes*, 3, 30, 6:

> Non omnis moriar.

(19) *Epilogue to 'Eighteenth Century Vignettes'* (second series) (p. 319):

> I strive (as some one said in Greek)
>   To speak the truth with kindness.

See *Sat.*, 1, 1, 24:

> ridentem dicere verum.

(20) *For a Volume of Essays* (p. 471):

> Nothing that Nasidienus
> Howsoever at a loss for
> Novelty, could find a sauce for.

See *Sat.*, 2, 8 (the dinner party of the wealthy Nasidienus).

(21) *To H. C. Bunner* (p. 386):

> But you, acute, accomplished, true
>   And *candid*, who in every line . . .

(Cf. also *A Legacy* (p. 185):

> Dear, faithful friend—
>
> .   .   .   .
>
> Who still would hear and still commend
>   My tedious verses,—
>
> .   .   .   .
>
> I've learned your candid soul.)

See *Epist.*, 1, 4, 1:

> Albi, nostrorum sermonum candide iudex.

(22) *William Makepeace Thackeray* (p. 441):

> We know—alike in age and youth
> He sought unshrinkingly for truth;
>
> .   .   .   .
>
> Went manfully his destined way,
> Doing, as far as in him lay,
> His daily task without pretence—
> With dignity and reticence.

Dobson has this note (p. 449):

> " ' Servetur ad imum
> Qualis ab incepto processerit, et sibi constet '
>   *Ars Poetica*, lines 126-7.
>   (Thackeray's motto to Esmond.)"

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THE TEXT-TRADITION OF PETRONIUS—
PRELIMINARY PAPER [1]

Three generally accepted assumptions underly this paper:
(1) that the Satiricon is the work of the Petronius who was
arbiter elegantiae in the time of Nero; (2) that the Satiricon
is not the document written by Petronius on his deathbed as
the testimonial of an eyewitness to the private life of the
emperor; (3) that the Satiricon was a long work, consisting of
perhaps twenty books.

We know too little of the character and contents of the ori-
ginal Satiricon to form any opinion of it. It may however be
suspected that the Cena Trimalchionis was in the complete work
the longest single episode, as the Cupid and Psyche story is in
the Metamorphoses of Apuleius. This conjecture is based,
first, on the analogy of the work of Apuleius; second, on the
apparent intention of Petronius to associate his book in people's
minds with the traditional satires; third, on the fact that noth-
ing found in or suggested by the extant fragments could have
been expanded much beyond its present size; fourth, that the
sketchy plot of the Satiricon was better adapted to many and
brief episodes than to fewer and long narratives. There are
too few data to allow us to say anything of the impression that
Petronius made upon later Latin and Greek writers. Martial
has some possible reminiscences, but the writers of romances
show few or no signs of indebtedness to him. The grammarians
cite him occasionally, and the fact that their quotations are
uniformly not found in the present texts but in the fragments
suggests that the abbreviation of the Satiricon had not progressed
far in their time.

But a book as long as the Satiricon could not survive the time

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when Livy was epitomized and when Virgilius could condense all human knowledge into a book which could be held in one hand. Three parts of the Satiricon must be considered separately, since their fates are unlike. They are the story of the Widow of Ephesus, the little epic on the Civil War, and the account of the Banquet of Trimalchio.

The Widow of Ephesus was a folk-tale (probably a specimen of the Milesian Tale), and in circulation independently of Petronius. There may have been dozens of other versions, some in writing, others not. Certainly its wide currency in the early Middle Ages can not be explained on a theory that would make Petronius its only source, and it circulated more widely without his name than with it. This is too the period in which Petronius was least known. Later John of Salisbury helped to strengthen Petronius' hold upon the story. Yet at some time the tale was extracted from the Satiricon and circulated separately but under Petronius' name. The evidences of this are two MSS which contain only this story, Maz. 1261 and Ambr. 160 (see the Appendix for further descriptions of these and other MSS and for a tentative classification). The latter MS, which contains in addition to the Widow two short poems (109.9-10 and 137.9) bound, probably by accident, with a volume of Chrysostomus, seems not to attribute the story to Petronius, but it has clearly the Petronian version. The longer editions of the Satiricon were not affected by the separate transmission of the Widow, as the presence of the story in the more complete MSS of Families I and II shows.

In general, the same is true of the Civil War, which is found in all the larger MSS and also in three which contain only the poem, MUV. These and the MSS of the Widow of Ephesus will be discussed in greater detail later.

The case of the Cena is different. The part of the Cena which has come down to us is found in a single MS, H, and the other part of this same MS, designated A and belonging to Family II, alone preserves any indication of the book numbers (see below). This brings us to the question of the abbreviation of the original work.

The detaching of the Widow of Ephesus and the Bellum Civile had no effect on the Satiricon as a whole, and the period when

this occurred can not be determined. The MSS mentioned above agree so well with the more complete MSS that no conclusions can be drawn. In the case of the Cena, however, the extracted narrative did not•remain in the longer versions. It should be said that there are few evidences that the Satiricon was ever systematically epitomized. Almost every episode has suffered somewhat, and few are completely intelligible as they stand, though still fewer are absolutely meaningless. The artistic level of the parts that we have is so uniform that one wonders whether some clever and appreciative critic selected what he considered the best passages or whether the whole was so good that one passage was as representative as any other. Certainly, though this article does not pretend to be a literary criticism, the differences between parts of the Satiricon are of content rather than of style, and the whimsical wit of Petronius gives tone to the whole.

We can not then find internal evidence for any theory to account for the reduction in size of the Satiricon. There is however one important fact to be noted: the MSS of Family I have the beginning of the Cena, chap. 55, and seven detached apothegms in their proper relative sequence but all displaced, while those of Family II have only part of chap. 55. This is a poem attributed to Publilius Syrus (the MSS agree on *publium* alone, but the emendation seems certain), with a brief scene which serves as an introduction. The poem has nothing to do with the dinner as such, is complete in itself and interesting for its own sake. Its inclusion would commit no one to preserving more of the Cena. The seven isolated passages to which I have referred follow in Lpt the poem which is now 82.5. They are found in the same order in which they appear in H. It is more important to note that the seven are found together in the same sequence in N.[2] They seem to be, as a group, displaced there also.

The difference between Families I and II in their preservation of parts of the Cena leads us to the discussion of the rela-

[2] The florilegia and their importance in the tradition of Petronius are being studied by Professor Ullman and are consequently passed over in this paper. Such references as I make to them are based on the reports of Beck and Bücheler, neither of whom may be trusted far

tion of the two classes of MSS. They are distinguished on the
basis of their contents, Family I being more extensive than
Family II. I shall later consider briefly the origins of the
families, but at this point wish merely to propose a theory which
later investigation may or may not support. The absence of the
Cena with the exception of one chapter from Family II and
the presence of larger portions in Family I may indicate that
from the time when the Cena was first detached and circu-
lated separately two distinct traditions begin. One (Family
II) excluded, probably deliberately, the Cena except for one
chapter which has little to do with the dinner proper, and
also suffered accidental losses of the same kind that affected
the other; the second tradition (Family I) did not deliberately
exclude the Cena, but gradually lost most of it in the series of
accidents that little by little reduced the Satiricon to its present
dimensions. The state of the text as a whole suggests that it is
chance rather than design that is responsible for the losses,
with the possible exception of a deliberate excision of the
Cena from Family II. The theory just proposed seems more
plausible than those generally held, that Family I was created
by the expansion of Family II or Family II by the contraction
of Family I. If I am right, they represent two divergent
traditions, dating from the time when separate editions of the
Cena were first issued. When this occurred, we can only sur-
mise. The one MS of the Cena is dated 1423, but it is con-
jectured to be derived from a ninth or tenth century original
(Keller, Rh.M. 16.532). The date can be moved further back:
the oldest Petronius MS, B, belongs to the early ninth century,
and exhibits perfectly, save for later accidental losses, the char-
acteristic Family II contents. This points to the detachment of
the Cena and the consequent appearance of two forms of the
Satiricon in pre-Carolingian times, and this agrees well enough
with what we know of the abbreviation of other authors. The
number of MSS of Petronius in this time must have been rather
small.

We may conclude then that the losses suffered by the Satiricon
date mainly from the period between the fall of the Western
Empire and Charlemagne; that they were in general accidental,
with one possible but important exception; that the independent

circulation of the Widow of Ephesus and the Civil War did not
cause them to be lost from the longer versions; and that the
detachment of the Cena, which made a greater difference in
bulk, may have helped to cause the divergence of Families I
and II. I can not explain why the story of the Widow was
not lost entirely, as the free circulation of the story without
Petronius' name would make its association with Petronius
vague. Perhaps our MSS recovered his name only after John
of Salisbury had quoted the story from him. It will be remem-
bered that one MS does not contain his name. Both episodes
may have been lost, as the Cena was, and then restored, but
their presence in B shows that if this happened they had been
replaced before the Carolingian period, which is equivalent to
saying that they were never removed from the longer editions.

I shall next consider some internal evidence regarding the
various MSS described above.

The two MSS of the Widow of Ephesus are quite different in
character. The Ambrosian MS is late and of dubious value.
Its text is a complex, but with some individual readings. The
other is earlier (twelfth century, Bücheler, thirteenth or four-
teenth, Beck; I have not seen it), is likewise a complex but
with more satisfactory affiliations. I quote certain specimen
readings (references and key-passages are from Bücheler-
Heraeus [6]. Readings are taken indiscriminately from Beck,
Bücheler, Ernout and my own materials. Hence there may be
errors, and conclusions based on them alone are subject to
revision) :

(a) 111.7 infernisque imaginibus) infectus imaginibusque
Ambr.   infernis ymaginibus N Maz.   infer-
nisque imaginibus *cett.*

(b) 111.10 exhortatione) ratione Ambr.   consolatione R .
hortatione Q   exortatione CFKN Maz.
exhortatione *cett.*

(c) 111.13 aliquot dierum) aliquot diebus Ambr.   aliquot
(-quod Maz.) dierum *cett.*

(d) 111.13 prior) prius Ambr.   prior Maz.*cett.*

(e) 112.2 utrumque) utrisque Ambr.   utrumque Maz.
cett.

(f) 112.3 conditorii foribus) conditorii hostiis domus
Ambr.   conditorii foribus Maz.*cett.*

(g) 112.6 accepisset) acciderat Ambr.   accidet P
accidisset Maz.*cett.*

(h)   112.8   prudentissimae) pudicissime Ambr.   prudentis-
simae Maz.*cett.*

(i)   112.8   posteroque die) postero uero die Ambr.   pos-
teroque die Maz.*cett.*   •

Some of these individual readings are sensible or at least intelli-
gible, while others are impossible. In the following Ambr. does
not stand alone:

(j)   111.2   passis) passis BPptMaz.   sparsis quoque (*sic*)
C   sparsis Ambr.*cett.*   ......

(k)   111.12 admonere) ammonere BR   admonere p
commonere C(Bch.)ELNMaz. commouere Ambr.
C(Beck)*cett.*

(m)   111.13 replevit se) replevit se BPRLpNMaz.   se re-
pleuit Ambr.*cett.*

(n)   112.3   iacuerunt) latuerunt Ambr.ACFGKQs   iacue-
runt A(*i.m.*)Maz.*cett.*

(o)   112.3   notis ignotisque) notis ignotisque BP(-esque)
RLptNMaz. ignotis cognotisque EK   ignotis
cognatisque Q(*i. m.*)s   ignotis cognitisque
Ambr.cett.

(p)   112.6   ergo) modo BPRLpTNMaz.   mado F   ergo
Ambr.F(*i.m.*)*cett.*

(q)   112.6   illa) *om.* BPRFAmbr.Maz.   *hab.* F(*i.m.*)*cett.*

In general, where the MSS disagree, Ambr. goes with the
inferior, while Maz. tends to associate itself with the better MSS.
Case (q) is the exception regarding Ambr. among these exam-
ples. There is some evidence of the influence of a florilegium in
the following:

(r)   111.12 cinerem) cinerem Ambr.FNLpt·   cineres Maz.
cett.

(s)   112.2   nec—arvis) *om.* Ambr.N   *hab.*Maz.*cett.*

(t)   111.5   igitur) ergo Maz.N   igitur Ambr.*cett.*

(u)   111.6   corpus) corpora NLpt   *om.* A   corpus
Ambr.Maz.*cett.*

(v)   112.3   quisquis) quisque Maz.BPpt   si quisque R
quisquis LN   si quis Ambr.*cett.*

(w)   111.12 credis sentire sepultos) credis sentire sepultos
Maz.BP(-us)RLT credis curare sepultos Ambr.L
(*i. m.*) Npt   sepultos credis sentire *cett.*

(x)   111.4   quotienscunque) quotiens Maz.NPp   quoties
L   quotiensque B   quotienscumque R
*om.*Ambr.*cett.*

• While the testimony of these readings is contradictory, there

must be some relation between the two MSS and a florilegium, while the association, especially of Maz., with the BPR group seems, as Professor Ullman points out to me, to make closer the connection between the last named MSS and the florilegium tradition. The last example cited seems to have some significance for this point.

There are some peculiar readings in Maz. as well: *amoris queque* in 111.5; *resideret,* 112.6; *dictum,* 112.6; *commendaret* (*commendaret* D, *comendaret* F), 112.6, but these are rather individual errors than signs of independent tradition. Perhaps the most interesting inference from these data is the generally close resemblance of these MSS to the mass. This is close enough to show that we have here the genuine Petronian tale and not some anonymous version with his name accidentally attached. We have then no reason to believe that this story, when extracted from the rest of the Satiricon, changed its form in any material degree.

There is some reason to suspect that this happened in the case of the Civil War. I have discussed this point in a recent páper (C. P. 24. 68-76), and need not repeat the evidence here. More interesting for our present purpose than the testimony for a more or less independent tradition of the poem is the evidence of interchange of readings between these MSS and those of Family II. The discussion of the two types of MSS must then be merged, though I must begin the consideration of Family II at a different point.

The oldest existing MSS of Petronius (BPR) belong to group Y of Family II. No MS of group Z antedates the Renaissance, though there was once a MS assigned to the twelfth or thirteenth century (E), which has disappeared since it was hastily and unsatisfactorily collated by Jahn. Both Beck and Bücheler used this collation, and they differ not infrequently in their reports. While E seems to have had little actual value, it would have great interest for us for the light it would throw on the text of group Z at the time it was written. We know two places in France where Petronius was studied during the early middle ages: Fleury and Auxerre. I have tried elsewhere (C. P. 11. 19) to show that the former was the principal center of Petronian study, and this belief has been confirmed by the

(ac)   4.5 schedium) schadium Alt.B   schedium ELp
             studium B (*i.m., manu prima*)PR*cett.*
(ad)   14.2. v. 2 nulla) nuda Alt.B   nulla PR*cett.*
(ae)   17.7 timeam)   timeam   Alt.BR ⸍ timerem   pt
             timebam P*cett.*
(af)   25.6 ut dicatur) ut dicatur Alt.BPRpt   dicatum ut
             s   *om.* L   dicatur ut *cett.*   (Pithoeus:
             " quae verba in aliis non sunt.")
(ag)   88.5 comprehenderat) comprehenderat LTp   *om.*
             B   comprehendit Alt.*cett.*
(ah)   89. v. 14 mens semper) m̄ semper (*pro* mens, *ut
             Pithoeo visum est*) Alt.   *om.* B   mendacium
             semper R ·   mendacium P*cett.*
(ai) 109.3 ducenos) ducenos Alt.   ducentos *cett.*
(aj) 131.8. v. 8 cantu sua furta) cantu suasura Alt.P
             cantusuasura B   cantu sua rura R*cett.*
(ak) 133.3. v. 14 sancte—aras) *versum totum habent* Alt.
             BELp   *om. cett.*

It appears that Alt. was a MS of Family II, closely resembling
BPR and especially B, but with affiliations with group Z (ag).
The most interesting case is (ah), where the loss of B compli-
cates the question.   The unmetrical *mendacium semper* of R is
almost enough by itself to prove a close connection with Alt.,
since no other known MS has any trace of *semper*, and almost
guarantees the soundness of *semper*, though R has borrowed
mendacium from the ordinary texts, perhaps because he was
puzzled by or misunderstood an abbreviation like that quoted
from Alt.   When I doubted (C. P. 11. 23) that B had had
"m̄ *semper* for *mendacium* " I had access to Alt. only through
the quotations in Bücheler.   Since that time I have had p con-
stantly at hand and R has been made more completely accessible
by Miss Jones (Ernout failed to note this reading).   I there-
fore retract as far as *semper* is concerned: B might have had
it.   I remain doubtful as to *mens,* even though that reading
is probably correct.   In (ai), if Alt. is correctly quoted, it has
a reading found nowhere else.   Fundamentally, Alt. is close
enough to B to belong in the same group, but with enough re-
semblance to PR to belong in their section of the BPR stemma.
It can not be identified with any existing MS.   Except for
case (y) it could quite easily be thought of as related to Heiric's
MS or even as his MS, and *septifluus* is not sufficient either to
maintain or to overthrow a theory.   It was quite certainly an

early MS—old in its readings if not in its actual date—and it or some ancestor might easily have found a place in the line of differentiation from the B type of text to that found in group Z. It is just the kind of MS we should expect an ancestor of PR to be, from its character, as revealed above, and their behavior, to be illustrated below.

I shall now proceed to give specimens to show in greater detail the relations of groups Y and Z to one another, and thereby to provide material for a later examination of the origin and history of Family I in its relations with Family II. At the same time some sub-groups within group Z will be dimly seen, though such matters are now wholly tentative:

(am) 6.2   in hortis) motus BPRpt   in hortis (ortis) *cett.*
(an) 6.3   exceperat) exceperat BPRpt   excepit *cett.*
(ao) .7.4   alteram) alteram BPR   aliam *cett.*
(ap) 16.1 beneficio) beneficio BPRL(*i.m.*)pt   *om. cett.*
(aq) 18.5 in crastinum turba) i.c.t. BPRLpt   t.i.c. cett.
(ar) 20.8 ultimo) ultimo BPRpt   ultimus *cett.*

These examples have been chosen partly to show the distinctions between groups Y and Z, partly to show the connection between Family I and group Y. Lines are less clearly drawn in the following:

(as) 1.3   papavere et sesamo) papauere et sesamo BRpt
            pauore et sesamo P   sesamo et papauere L
            papauere et sampsucho s   papauere et sansucho
            Q(*i.m.*)   pauere et sesanxo *cett.*   ent
(at) 5. v. 2· mores)· mores BR   in ore p . _ .morem (*sic*)
            J   merae T   mere (more *et* mora *i.m.*) L
            more *cett.*
(au) 7.2   secretiorem) secretiorem BRp   secretum *cett.*
(av) 17.1 adhuc) adhuc BPRFLpt   adhuc autem E
            autem adhuc *cett.*

Two sub-groups within group Z are indicated in the following: one consists of AEF, the other of KQs:

(aw) 18.7   deinde) denique AEF   deinde *cett.*
(ax) 111.3 sine) se AEF   sine *cett.*
(ay) 126.12 in eum daphnona) in eum daphona BPR   in
             eum diphona pt   in eum daphnona L   in
             cadophona AEFs   in cudophona CDGJK
             in aidophona Q   in adophona Q(*ex corr.*)S

(az) 126.15 scripturam)   scripturarum B   iunctarum
      Q(*i.m.*)S   scripturam Q*cett.*
(ba) 119. v. 19 effari) BPREFLptMUs(*ex coniec.*) affari
      cett.
(bb) 108.14. v. 8 ne) ne QS   uos A   nec RFLst   ne
      t(*i.m.*)*cett.*

Group Z readings appear in R in such cases as (j), (v), (ab), (ah), (ak), in P in (k), (aa), (ac), (ad), (ah) and (ak), and these samples represent a rather larger number of such instances than R exhibits. Sometimes we find F agreeing with group Y, though this scribe's difficulties with spelling were so great that the value of the evidence is uncertain: note cases (p), (q), (av), (ba) and (bb). The relationship of AEF is seen in such cases as (aw), (ax) and (ay). Evidence to associate KQs or KQS is less easily pointed out, but it seems clear from such examples as (ay), (az) and (bb) that there is a connection of some kind between Q and the MS of Sambucus, if not with his edition, while the underlying relationship of KQ is best seen in their rare disagreements.

I have referred above to the potential usefulness of E as a thirteenth century group Z MS. Its kinship to AF is apparent, yet it seems to have had readings not found in them, and would naturally present an older text. We have in F a kind of substitute, but its idiosyncrasies make it an unsafe guide to its archetype, while E would take us back to the period when Vincent of Beauvais and the compilers of the florilegia were extending the knowledge of Petronius. In still another way would E be useful. I have shown elsewhere (C. P. 24. 68-76) that F or some ancestor is an intermediate between groups X and Z in some fashion, perhaps by way of a MS of the KQ type. The latter MSS are very probably to be associated in some way with group X, while another line of communications appears to run through FV. The most serious problem that awaits solution with respect to Family II is the group Z stemma, and further discussion must wait until more material is available. The relations of BPR are fairly clear, though their associate Alt. is still not definitely placed, but neither the internal nor the external history of group Z can at present be written. I may repeat however that the information now available suggests a sub-group AEF and a possible sub-group KQSs or KQs, with the

placing of CDGJ uncertain; that, possibly through F, there is a connection with group Y; that, again possibly through F, there is a connection with group X, exerted through V, while there is a special relationship of some kind between group X and KQ.

The last named MSS have had an importance in the tradition altogether out of proportion to their critical value through the use by Sambucus of a MS of that type. The earliest editions of Petronius include only fragments, but from about 1520 we have editions that contain the usual Family II material. In 1565 Sambucus, using a MS which he calls *vetus codex*, corrected some fifty errors, according to his own estimate, in the older editions. No attempt has as yet been made to ascertain the sources of these earlier texts, and the MS of Sambucus (S) has not been identified. It seems to have resembled KQ, and Q may even have been corrected on it. Still more important is the fact that Scaliger and Tornaesius used s as an authority, and many group Z readings have found their way into Lt in consequence. Pithoeus for some reason did not use Sambucus to the same degree, though he derived some readings from such sources, possibly through Scaliger or Tornaesius. This is one reason why we may trust him further than Scaliger, so far at least as Petronius is concerned. His greater reliability may be due to good fortune rather than to critical judgment, but in my edition of Petronius, now in press, I have felt safe in following him rather than either of his contemporaries in the Family I portions of the text. I may pass on now to the history of Family I.

Between 1565 and 1575 there came to light in France a new MS of Petronius, or perhaps more than one. It is still not clear whether all the sixteenth century scholars who worked on Petronius used the same longer MS, though a careful examination of Lpt and the notes of other workers may show. The name of Cujas is usually associated with a MS of this type, and this may be accepted as true though proof is wanting. No MS of this kind survives to us, for Scaliger's L is an edition in MS form. Its exact date with reference to that of p and t is unknown. Some of the sources used by these scholars are recorded: Scaliger used the assumed Cuiacianus, P, the edition

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of Sambucus, a florilegium (again see Professor Ullman's study),
and perhaps other materials. Among Tornaesius' sources were
the editions of 1520 and 1565, a MS supposed also to be the Cuia-
cianus, and other fragmentary MSS or editions. Pithoeus' main
reliance was a mysterious document called *vetus Benedictinum*
or *vetus Benedictinus* or perhaps *vetus Pithoei.* The name sug-
gests a Fleury origin, but we do not know whether these designa-
tions apply to one, two or three MSS or editions or whether
any one of them is the Cuiacianus. He had also the Altissio-
durensis and other authorities. Pending the completion of the
efforts now in progress to identify these sources, we must leave
the question in abeyance and turn to the matter of the inter-
relations of Lpt. I have already mentioned their use of Sambu-
cus, while the use of P by Scaliger and of Alt. by Pithoeus would
have supplied group Y influence even if their basic MSS had
been of different character. It will be noted in the following
that p agrees with group Z least frequently and L most fre-
quently, while t occupies the intermediate position of an eclectic:

(bc)   1.1 num) num Bpt   quum D   cum *cett.*
(bd)   6.1 cuius) cuius BPRL(*i.m.*)pt   cuur E   qui cur
         D   cur L*cett.*
(be) 16.1 beneficio) beneficio BPRL(*i.m.*)pt   om. L*cett.*
(bf) 17.4 inquit "haec") inquit haec BPRL(*i.m.*)p   om.
         L   inquit *cett.*
(bg) 26.1 exornaverant) exornauerant BPRp   exornauerunt
         cett.
(bh) 88.4 in cacumine—consenuit) in cacumen—conscendit
         st   in cacumine—consenuit *cett.*
(bi) 111.2 funus) funeris officium LQs   funus *cett.*
(bj) 118.6 *post* manum) "lacunam agnoscunt Lt, duos tresve
         asteriscos exhibentes, non p   'paucula deesse
         videntur' Sambucus" (Bch.).

The task of reconstructing the MS or MSS used by these
scholars will be simplified if all readings taken from other than
their longer sources can be isolated. I am not attempting such
a reconstruction now, but merely suggesting some lines of in-
quiry. The influence of group Z through Sambucus has already
been referred to, and a certain amount of such influence was also
exerted on Scaliger by P. I am quite sure that Pithoeus did
not use B, but the affinity between his text and that of group

Y may be partially explained by his use of Alt. His use of group Z is not illustrated in the above samples, but may be due to Scaliger or Tornaesius. If Pithoeus' major MS came from Fleury, we should have evidence of a Family I MS there at some time as well as of a MS of Family II. John of Salisbury, in my opinion (C. P. 11. 19) found there also the Cena, and there was a lexicon which preserved some testimony as to book numbers (cf. Bch. on chap. 89).

No connection can be established between John and H nor can H be traced to Fleury, and no satisfactory explanation except coincidence has been found for the phenomena regarding book numbers, as has been shown in the paper just quoted. Yet the evidence of other MSS of Petronius at Fleury makes it antecedently plausible that there was a MS of Family I there too.

Family I yields then no real MS, but only three composites, the components of which can be only partially identified. We must admit that all three workers had something which contained more text than the secondary sources like P, Sambucus, or a florilegium. Possibly Scaliger and Tornaesius used one MS (Cuiacianus) and Pithoeus another (Benedictinum or Benedictinus); possibly these two are the same and the differences are due to their differing uses of secondary authorities. The following examples illustrate differences in passages found only in Family I: .

(bk) 10.5 different) different L(*i.m.*)p deferent Lt
(bm) 10.7 reducerem) deducerem L diducerem pt
(bn) 12.5 motu) motu Lt metu Tp
(bo) 13.3 ergo) ergo L igitur pt
(bp) 15.3 controversiam) controuersiam L controuersia pt
(bq) 15.3 utraque) utra L(*i.m.*)p utraque Lt
(br) 21.7 *post* deberi) " duo unusve asteriscus in Lt, nulla lacuna in p " (Bch.)

Some light may be thrown on the question by examining the references to MSS in other contemporary commentaries than those which resulted in editions. From such studies we may extract not only information regarding MSS of Petronius then in existence, but, more important, a knowledge of their methods of dealing with their abundant resources. No one in the first . half of that century could of course predict the wholesale

destruction of libraries that France was later to witness, but
we may profoundly regret that the state of scholarship permit-
ted such inexactness of statement and such casualness of method
as were common in that period.

We know too little of Family III to say much. Apart from
the survival of small sections in other MSS, we have only H,
and there is no reason to think that there have been others since
the Renaissance. The duplication of Chap. 55 in Family II
offers little aid. Part at least of the Cena chapters that are
found in Family I came from florilegia.

One can understand the difficulties which the Cena would
present to the medieval scribe in its unfamiliar vocabulary,
syntax, forms and social background. Perhaps that is one rea-
son why the Cena was so little known in the middle ages. More
competent scholars were shocked by the Latinity; less able men
did not realize that they were dealing with an earlier form of
their own vernaculars. While H is not a good MS, we are for-
tunate that it is no worse. It is probably better than we realize,
and better than its companion A (their union is artificial and
not organic). Apart from the duplicated sections in Family II
and the florilegia, we have nothing with which to check H
except the quotations in John of Salisbury, and these are as
usual too free to be of much help in textual minutiae.

On the whole, the text of Petronius is in fairly satisfactory
condition. For the parts contained in Family II we have two
good authorities in BR, B being superior but less complete and
R complete and almost as faithful to its originals, and one not
much inferior in P, which is more interesting than its fellows
from the standpoint of the history of the text. The age and
quality of these MSS are such that they give us a standard by
which to judge the rest. The group Z MSS are inferior in
quality but had a wider influence. Through Sambucus they
affected Family I; they influenced P and through P, Scaliger
(see above for a somewhat different statement); they affected
and were affected by group X. The latter MSS were more
independent of the general tradition than were those of the
Widow of Ephesus. The florilegia not only preserved old read-
ings but supplied material to sixteenth century editors. The
test of conformity to group Y may be applied to Family I as
well. In this p shows up better than do Lt. Either Pithoeus

had better sources, or he used them with more discretion. Since
we know so little about their larger MSS, we can say only that
he used Altissiodurensis and they used Sambucus.

While this is the general strategic situation, the special tacti-
cal problems are numerous. At present they make impossible
the construction of a stemma. That must be left until subse-
quent study shows whether this preliminary paper shall ever be
supplemented. The details of interrelationship and of the recip-
rocal influences of MSS are still too vaguely seen.

The specific textual problems that remain may be briefly
indicated, and the study of these will or will not justify further
discussion. First, we need a thorough reëxamination of all the
MSS and all the real or unreal quotations from MSS from the
Renaissance through the sixteenth century. Students of Petro-
nius have been very fortunate in their possession of a very com-
plete collation of the MSS in Beck's book (The MSS of the
Satyricon of Petronius Arbiter Described and Collated, Cam-
bridge, 1863) and of an almost equally complete independent
collation in Bücheler's first edition. It is not ungrateful to these
men to wish to revise their work or to point out defects and
omissions in it. Beck did not touch the editions, though he
included L since it was in MS form, nor did he use the com-
mentaries. His dating of MSS is often erratic, and he lacked
the resources afforded by photography for the comparison of
hands. Yet Beck had a conception that commands our respect:
he planned and carried out a purely disinterested piece of work,
the publication of all the readings of all the MSS with no ulti-
mate purpose of basing an edition upon them. I doubt if a
similar collection of this kind exists for any other classical
author. Hale's magnificent project for publishing all the MSS
of Catullus (a plan unhappily interrupted by his death) is the
successor of Beck's achievement, far greater in its magnitude,
its difficulties and in its definition of scholarly responsibility.
Beck has in my judgment received far too little recognition
among scholars, and I pay my tribute to him and acknowledge
my debt to him while I plan to repeat his work. Bücheler
brought to his work a greater palaeographical equipment, though
we have progressed still further. He depended very largely on
collations made by others, and their work rather than his often
was faulty. He did much to sift the sixteenth century material

but little to determine their sources. His contribution is very great, but, unlike Beck, he has received due credit for an edition of Petronius which is almost a model, of what a critical edition should be. Yet his work is not free from error: his dating of MSS, especially those which he did not himself see, is often wrong; [3] he had too much faith in Scaliger; since he was preparing an edition, he had to devote too much time to the conjectures of other scholars to concentrate on the MSS, and his conception of their relationships is incomplete and often impossible. It is with no lack of appreciation of what these men and their successors have done that I propose a complete reëxamination of the MSS, of the scattered quotations in the medieval and later writers, and of the sixteenth century materials. Second, this collection should form the basis for a series of investigations: the study of the interrelations of groups X, Y and Z and of the subdivisions of group Z; the study of the particular MSS or types of MSS responsible for these interrelations; the construction of detailed and consolidated stemmata for group Z and Family II; the study of the sources and method of construction of Family I; resulting from the last, the examination of the methods, habits, ideals and critical principles of sixteenth century scholars; if possible, the construction of a stemma of all the MSS. Third, through the reconstruction of the various intermediate archetypes, the recomposition of the pre-Carolingian text of the Satiricon, with such additional information as can be secured regarding its earlier history and character. It is clear that this process would produce no edition, critical or otherwise. It deliberately excludes conjecture and even correction. The significance of such a piece of work is clear for Petronius, but I am inclined to think that we need such work done on most classical authors. In the case of Petronius the task is relatively simpler and relatively more important. The number of MSS now known is small and the physical labor involved correspondingly so. So much of the

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[3] The case of B may be cited as an example of variations in dating. Bücheler dated it tenth or eleventh century; Beck, tenth; Ernout, end of ninth or beginning of tenth. Professor Carey (as he was good enough to tell me in a private letter) after studying the Fleury scripts placed it in the first half of the ninth century. My own date, based on less sound knowledge, was similar.

text of the Satiricon is based on dubious foundations that we need to know more than in other cases the history of the text. Such are the larger problems which confront us. Their solution may contribute to a reëvaluation of the work of the sixteenth century scholars to whom we owe so much.

APPENDIX

A TENTATIVE CLASSIFIED LIST OF PETRONIUS MSS

Symbol	Designation	Family	Group
L	Leid. Scal. 61, s.16	I	
t	Editio Tornaesii, 1575	I	
p	Editio Pithoei, 1577, 1587	I	
B	Bern. 357, s.9 (including four pages now bound with Leid. 30)	II	Y
P	Paris. 8049, s.11-12	II	Y
R	Paris. 6842D, s.11	II	Y
A	Paris. 7989, s.15 (cf. H)	II	Z
E	(Lost?) Messaniensis, s.12-13	II	Z
F	Leid. 265, s.15	II	Z
K	Vindob. 218, s.15	II	Z
Q	Vindob. 108, s.15	II	Z
s	Editio Sambuci, 1565	II	Z
C	Vat. Urb. 670, s.15	II	Z
D	Laur. 47.31, s.15	II	Z
J	Laur. 37.25, s.15	II	Z
G	Guelferb. extrav. 299, s.15	II	Z
H	Paris. 7989, s.15 (cf. A)	III	
N	Paris. 17903, s.13	IV	flor.[4]
M	Monac. 23713, s.15	V	X
U	Dresd. 141, s.15	V	X
V.	Leid. 1, s.15	V	X
Ambr.	Ambros. 160, s.14(?)	V	
Maz.	Mazar. 1261, s.12-13	V	
Alt.	(Lost) Codex Altissiodurensis	II	Y?
	(Lost) Codex Cuiacianus		
S	(Lost) Codex Sambuci	II	Z?
T	(Lost) Codex Tornaesii		
	(Lost) Vetus Benedictinum, Vetus Benedictinus or Vetus Pithoei (1, 2 or 3?)		

NOTE: This list includes only MSS cited or referred to in this paper. The symbols are mainly those of Bücheler modified to meet my own needs.

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[4] Other florilegia are purposely omitted.

THE SEMANTICS OF THE TERMINATION -ARIO-.

This paper deals with the semantic area and semantic variability of the Latin termination -ario-. It is not concerned with the etymology of -ario- or its relation to -ari-. The material for investigation has been taken from Plautus, the Epistles of Cicero, the De Agricultura of Cato, and the De Re Rustica of Varro. I have endeavored to collect every example of the words in -ario- found in these works. The texts used are for Plautus the Goetz-Schoell, for Cato and Varro Keil's text with Krumbiegel's indices, for Cicero Tyrrell and Purser with Merguet so far as Merguet is serviceable for the Epistles.

The number of -ario- words in these works is, so far as I can discover, 231; and these 231 words furnish 961 examples. Cicero has 82 words and 445 examples; of these words three are diminutives. Two of the diminutives, actuariola and librariolus are on the same stem with the normal adjectives. Plautus has 93 words including six that are merely names of plays without any occurrence in the text, and one diminutive, armariola, found on an -ario- noun, in all 157 examples. Varro has 63 words, 183 examples, and Cato 67 words, 176 examples. It thus appears that Cicero averages about $5\frac{1}{4}$ examples to each word, Varro nearly 3, Cato about $2\frac{2}{3}$, and Plautus about $1\frac{2}{3}$. Cicero's average is much raised by the frequent occurrence of tabellarius, with 84 examples, and of necessarius with 87 examples. Plautus, according to Lewis and Short, furnishes twelve ἅπαξ λεγόμενα in -ario- exclusive of names of plays, Cato five, Cicero and Varro one each. That is, as far as any conclusion can be drawn from these statistics, it is, as one might expect, that the language is in Plautus in the experimental stage as compared with the language of Cicero; though it must be remembered that the passage Aulularia 508-529 furnishes five of these ἅπαξ λεγόμενα. As only one work of Cato and one of Varro are regularly used here, they are referred to as Cat and Var respectively, and no attempt has been made here to numerate the various occurrences of -ario- words as substantives. In the Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung, Vol. 27, 1885, pp. 113-126 Paucker discusses Die Nomina Derivativa auf -alis (-aris) und -arius.

Paucker gives a valuable list of words in these terminations, but does not discuss the question of semantics in any detail. He is concerned with the matter with which I am dealing chiefly in the following remarks : Als grundbedeutung dieser derivative, der auf is und der auf ius wird im allgemeinen angegeben, wass auch nicht unrichtig ist, dass sie das zu dem was das nomen bezeichnet, gehörende ausdrücken, auch gemässheit, beziehung, und, wie einige hinzufügen, ähnlichkeit, herkommen von etwas. Von -arius wird hervorgehoben dass es oft substantivisch gebraucht dann im masc. denjenigen bezeichne welcher sich mit dem bezüglichen abgibt, beschäftigt, besonders in rücksicht auf stand und gewerbe, wie (ein öfters in schulgrammatiken wiederkehrendes beispiel) statuarius (sc. homo) erzgiesser, entsprechend statuaria (sc. ars), im neutr. den ort wo das bezügliche sich befindet, das behältnis, wie vivarium thier-, besonders fischbehälter. Ausserdem wird von mehren etwas besonderes über die bedeutung der von distributivnumeralien abgeleiteten auf -arius angemerkt, dass sie nämlich, wie es einer wohl präciser als andere ausdrückt, " das die zahl enthaltende bezeichnen, z. b. denarius (sc. nummus) eine zehn (as) enthaltende münze, auch von lebensjahren gebraucht werden, sexagenarius ein sechziger." [1]

An examination of the suffix -ario- as it occurs reveals a great variety of semantic content. What, for instance, is there in common between the different values of -ario- in proletario sermone (Mi 752), morbus hepatarius (Curc 239), quaestum carcerarium (Cap 129), pilum catapultarium (Curc 689), navi oneraria (Po 651), aedes lamentariae (Cap 96), forum piscarium (Curc 474), hamulum piscarium (Sti 289), cribro pollinario (Po 513), crepitum polentarium (Curc 295), di patellarii (Cist 522) ? The only way that these examples of -ario- can be reduced to any common meaning is by means of a blanket term such as ' pertaining to ', which, as it may be appropriately

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[1] In the Stolz-Schmalz grammar Heerdegen (p. 701) refers to Paucker's " umfangreichen, aber unkritischen Materialsammlungen." This usual adj ... scarcely just in its implications. Paucker's accumulations of material are more important than his theories—but such observations as he makes are always thoughtful and generally sound.

applied to any termination whatever, is of no scientific value at all. The amount of variation in semantic content is of course not subject to exact determination; but there may be set forth about forty fairly distinct shades of meaning in Plautus alone. The division here adopted is one based upon the nature of the stems upon which the words in -ario- are formed. It is more than probable that no exact and absolute discrimination between abstract and concrete can be made; but a rough division of these stems as abstract and concrete is here attempted, and the words under either rubric fall rather easily into various classes.

As concrete are listed (1) Living things, including persons; (2) Metals; (3) Foods; (4) Liquids; (5) Manufactured things, in eight subdivisions; (6) Raw Materials; (7) Buildings and their parts; (8) Vehicles; (9) Growing things, crops, etc.; (10) Natural Divisions (land, water, etc); (11) Refuse; (12) Parts of the Body. As abstract are listed (13) Times and Seasons; (14) Numerals; (15) Nouns of Mental Operation; (16) Office or Officeholder; (17) Proper Names; (18) Religious Rites; (19) Adverbs; (20) Verbs; (21) Miscellaneous, including necessarius. It will be seen that there is no logical relation between the different classes, and that there could scarcely be any systematic order of listing them.

(1) Words in -ario- formed on stems that mean living animals have the idea of place carried by -ario- quite often: e. g., aviarium, cochlearium, glirarium, columbarium, leporarium; in these instances a place for keeping. -Ario- of forum piscarium, Curc 474, means 'for selling.' Cochlearius, Var III, 14, 1, sub dio sumendus locus cochleariis has surrendered its place meaning to the noun, or rather has never received it; but Var III, 12, 2 in eodem consaepto fere habere solent [de animalibus] cochlearia atque alvearia has the meaning given above. Asinarium I of Cat XI, 1 is a driver of asses; but molas asinarias Cat X, 4, are mills 'driven by' asses, and iugum asinarium, Cat XI, 2 a team 'composed of' asses. Rete aviarium, Var III, 5, 13, is a net 'for catching' birds, and -ario- has the same value as in hamulum piscarium, St 289, while surpiculis piscariis, Cap 816, gives it the meaning 'for carrying.' Equaria, Var II, praef. 6, means a stud of horses, quod et ipse pecuarias habui grandes, in Apulia oviarias, et in Reatino equarias. Here -ario- has the force of ' a

number ', ' a collection ', and there are further implications of
keepers, pasturage, and other necessaries.   Gallinaria E. F. IX,
23, quum mihi in silva Gallinaria obviam venisset must at some
time have meant ' noted for ' or ' abounding in ' hens, but is here
probably quite attenuatèd in force.[2]   It is not necessary to quote
examples of -ario- as a ' keeper ', as in asinarius, caprarius, galli-
narius, pullarius.   The -ario- of via vitularia Q. F. III, 1, 3, is
apparently ' along which ' (cattle) were driven, and fugitivarius
Var III, 14, 1, is a catcher of fugitive snails.   Leporarium is
properly a place for keeping hares, but in Var e. g. III, 3, 8,
and passim it has the meaning quoted by Gellius, II, 20, 2 omnia
saepta adficta villae quae sunt et habent inclusa animalia quae
pascuntur.   Words in -ario- on common nouns meaning persons
are not frequent.   Per 751, sequere hac sceleste, feles virginaria,
is the only instance among the examples here collected.   Plautus
has also Ru 748, felis virginalis with the same meaning, and
Cicero in the orations, Cael. 28, 66, has mulieraria manus.
-Ario- of virginaria means ' stealing ', or something of the sort,
but in mulieraria it means ' under the orders of.' [3]

(2) Metals.   Examples of ' aerarium ' in this collection are
all from Cicero.   Aerarium as treasury gives merely the meaning
' place for keeping ', and the extension of aes to include any
kind of currency does not affect -ario-: e. g. A, VII, 12, 2, nec
aerarium clausum tardabit.   In Lewis and Short tribuni aerarii
is found both under aerarium (substantive) and under aerarius
(adjective).   In A, I, 16, 3, maculosi senatores, nudi equites,
tribuni non tam aerati quam, ut appellantur, aerarii, aerarii
should by analogy with aerati be an adjective; in which case
-ario- would have the meaning ' dispensing.'   Lewis and Short
quote aerarius ' a coppersmith ' from Pliny and Martial and
aeraria ' a mine ' from Tacitus.   Aerarius as a political term,
where -ario- means logically ' paying only ' and has a derogatory
emotional ingredient, is found elsewhere in Cicero, e. g., Clu,
122, in aerarios referri, and is analyzed by Gellius, IV, 12, 1,

[2] Cf. Pliny, N. H., VI, 32, 37, § 205, canaria insula and III, 5, 11, § 78,
capraria insula; but canaria relates to size, capraria to number.
Neither is far from the -oso- of piscosus.

[3] Cf. Ausonius, Ep. 70, 5, quoted by Lewis and Short, feles pullaria, a
stealer of boys.

Si quis agrum suum passus fuerat sordescere eumque indiligenter curabat ac neque araverat neque purgaverat, sive quis arborem suam vineamque habuerat derelictui, non iḍ sine poena fuit, sed erat opus censorium, censoresque aerarium faciebant. Argentarius seems not to occur in Cicero's Letters, though it is found in the speeches in the masculine as ' a banker ' Caec 17, se autem habere argentarii tabulas in quibus sibi expensa pecunia lata sit acceptaque relata, and in the feminine as a bank or banking business, ibid. 11, argentaria dissoluta, Fulcinius . . . quaedam praedia . . . mercatur. Argentarius occurs in Plautus as a banker, As 116 Apud Archibulum ego ero argentarium (cf. ibid. 126, Au 527, 530, Curc 377, 679, Cas 25, Per 432, 434) ; as a bank, Tru 66 nam nusquam alibi si sunt circum argentarias (cf. Weise's note, mensas seu tabernas) ; see also ibid. 70, Ep 199. Ps 424, Quo in commeatum volui argentarium proficisci, ibid. 300, ex amore pereo et inopia argentaria, the adjective appears as the equivalent of a genitive of argentum.[4] In Ep 158 ego de re argentaria iam senatum convocabo in corde consi- liarium, res argentaria means ' money matters ', and as far as -ario- can be isolated it is hard to define further than ' relating to.' In Ep 672 ut illic autem exenteravit mihi opes argen- tarias, and in Ps 105, tibi inventurum esse auxilium argentarium, -ario- merely performs the function of a genitive termination. In Men 377, omnes elecebrae argentariae -ario- equals an objec- tive genitive. Aurarium, according to Merguet, occurs not at all in Cicero. It is found once in these examples: Ba 229, negotium hoc ad me attinet aurarium, where just as in the case of any adjective modifying res or ratio, the meaning of the termination is very general, not more definite than ' relating to ' or ' dealing with.' Ferrarius occurs in Plautus, Ru 531, ut fortunati sunt fabri ferrarii, where -ario- has the ordinary meaning of ' worker in '; also Cat VII, 2, vel ad fabrum ferrarium.[5]

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[4] I may repeat here a footnote from my doctoral dissertation, The Semantic Variability and Semantic Equivalents of -oso- and -lento-, The New Era Press, Lancaster, Pa., 1914, p. 31: '.See Wackernagel, "Genitiv und Adjectiv", in "Mélanges de Linguistique offerts à M. Ferdinand de Saussure", Paris, 1908, p. 125 ff., and "Das Verhältniss des Genitivs zum Adjectiv im Griechischen", a dissertation by Paul Neumann, Münster, 1910.'

[5] Pliny has ferraria officina and ferraria metalla with the meaning of

(3) Foods. Legem . . . alimentariam, E. F., VIII, 6, 5,
gives the meaning 'regulating.' Carnarium occurs in Plautus,
Cato, and Cicero. -Ario- here has the place idea, and means a
frame for hanging; [6] Cap 914, adveniens totum deturbavit cum
carne carnarium, and passim. In all the instances of cibaria
here collected it is neuter plural except Cap 901, mihi rem
summam credidit cibariam. It is hard to see the precise differ-
ence between cibus and cibaria,[7] and not at all certain that
cibus : cibaria :: food : food-stuff. Escarius, Men 94, ita istaec
nimis lenta vincla sunt escaria, gives -ario- the meaning 'com-
posed of.' It is only figuratively that this meaning is found in
-ario-. -Ario- of Cat LXXVI, 3, deinde cribrum farinarium
purum sumito means 'for sifting.' Frumentarius occurs fre-
quently; in this collection there are 21 examples, some in each
of the authors investigated. Ps 187, tecum ago quae amica's
frumentariis, is an example of frumentarius as a substantive
where -ario- must mean 'a dealer.' The same word occurs with
res as an abstraction for frumentum. A, VIII, 1, 2, si rem
frumentariam sibi ex provinciis suppeditari vellet. In the fol-
lowing examples of frumentarius with ager, campus, and pro-
vincia -ario- means 'producing.' Var I, 11, 2, si frumentarius ager
est, ibid. I, 7, 9, ubi campus frumentarius; A. IX, 9, 2, haec
classis . . . ad occupandas frumentarias provincias comparetur.
-Ario- performs the genitive function Var I, 23, 5, ubi segetes
frumentarias; and has the idea 'containing' Var I, 22, 4,
(Vasa) . . . frumentaria viginti; also Cat XI, 1, (dolia) fru-
mentaria. It cannot be more closely defined than 'concerning'
or 'regulating' in Cat II, 5, rationes putare argentariam, fru-
mentariam, pabuli causa quae parata sunt, and A, II, 19, 3,
Porciae legi, etiam frumentariae, minitabantur. There seems no
example of the neuter with the idea of place, perhaps because

place; also aqua ferraria meaning apparently 'water for tempering
iron.' Gellius, II, 22, 29, Sed in his regionibus ferrariae, argentifodinae
pulcherrimae, if correct, gives a good parallel of fodinae with -ario-.

[6] Lewis and Short seem to go rather too far in classifying carnarium
now as a hook and now as a locker, though there is nothing intrinsically
startling in such a variation.

[7] Panis . . . cibarius, Cic., Tusc. V, 97, has an interesting analogue in
the phrase 'wearing clothes' for everyday working garments, a collo-
quial use found in Nova Scotia and probably elsewhere.

with granarium and horreum another word was unnecessary. Granarium is found only with the idea of place, as Cat XCII eo granarium totum oblinito crasso luto. Mel means honey, and is therefore classified here; but in all these examples it is a curious metonymy for apis.[8] The examples, six in number, all occur Var III, 16: in § 12 melittonas ità facere oportet, quos alii melitrophia appellant, eandem rem quidam mellaria, -ario-, if analyzed very precisely, would mean ' place for keeping insects which produce ' mel; ibid. § 17 qua mellarii favum eximere possunt, -ario- means ' keeper ' of the same insects. Mortarium occurs only as a substantive, and -ario- must mean ' for mixing ', or something equivalent; Cat LXXXVI selibram tritici puri in mortarium purum indat; and ibid. XCV, 2, conterito in mortario. Curc 295, et unoquoque eorum exciam crepitum polentarium gives -ario- the meaning ' caused by eating '; Po 513, nam iste quidem gradus succretust cribro pollinario that of ' for sifting.' Pulmentarium appears only as a substantive: Cat LVIII, pulmentarium familiae, where -ario- means ' sauce for ', the colloquial Scotch ' kitchen.' Saginarium, Var III, 10, 7, eos includit in saginario gives -ario- the place meaning; Cat CL, 2, porcos serarios, the meaning ' feeding upon.' Varro has three instances of salaria. In each instance the noun limited is via, and the semantic content of -ario- is almost as in via vitularia.

(4) Liquids. In urceos mustarios, Cat XI, 2, -ario- has the meaning ' containing.' The same meaning is found in all examples of olearius and vinarius with urna, dolia, fiscina, amphora, cella, vasa, seria; this group includes more than half of the examples of these two words in this collection (26 out of 49). Olearius, ' a seller of olive oil ', occurs Cap 489 omnes (de) compecto rem agunt, quasi in Velabro olearii; vinarius ' a seller of wine ', As 436, sed vina quae heri vendidi vinario Exaerambo. Krumbiegel cites vinarius Cat XXXIII, 1, Vinarios custodesque recte relinquito as the only instance of this word as a substantive in Cato. From the context it would seem that the word must mean ' keeper of a vineyard.' Vinarium is a

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[8] Lewis and Short suggest that apiarium was first introduced into the written language by Columella; Gellius says, II, 20, 8: apiaria quoque vulgus dicit loca in quibus siti sunt alvei apium, sed neminem ferme, qui incorrupte locuti sunt, aut scripsisse memini aut dixisse.

winepot, Po 837, ita vinariorum habemus nostrae dilectum domi.
The meaning of place occurs Cat XXV, lacum vinarium, and
'place for selling' Var I, 54, 2.   With torculum or orbis -ario-
means 'for pressing', Cat XVIII, 9, orbem olearium . . .
Punicanis coagmentis facito, and Var I, 55, 7, e torculariis
oleariis. Ratio usually requires a vague meaning in the termina-
tion of any adjective that modifies it: e. g. Cat II, 5, rationes
putare argentariam, frumentariam, pabuli causa quae parata
sunt; rationem vinariam, oleariam quid venierit. In Cat XI, 2,
jugum plostrarium, jugum vinarium, iugum asinarium, it is
difficult to say what iugum vinarium [9] means. Lactarius occurs
only once in these examples, Var II, I, 17, dandum bubus
lupinum, et lactariis medica et cytisum, where -ario- means
'producing for their young.' Vaporarium is found here only as
a substantive, Cic. Qu. fr. III, I, 2, quod (assa) ita erant posita
ut eorum vaporarium esset subiectum cubiculis: here -ario- is
apparently a receptacle for carrying.

(5) Manufactured Things.   For purposes of convenience
these are divided into: (a) weapons, (b) machines, (c) tools
and utensils, (d) gambling implements, (e) garments, (f) har-
ness, (g) money, (h) books and letters.

(a)   Catapultarius is a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον, Curc 689, quia ego ex
te hodie faciam pilum catapultarium, i. e. 'thrown by' a cata-
pult. Sagittarius occurs in these examples only as a substantive
and in Cicero: [10] E. F., XV, 4, 10, ususque tormentis multis,
multis sagittariis, and A, V, 20, 5, magna tormentorum copia,
multis sagittariis . . . negotium confecimus; here -ario- would

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[9] Iugum is concrete and intelligible, vinum is concrete and intelligible.
Were it not for the context, iugum might possibly stand for iugerum;
but here iugum must mean a team. Because we do not know what the
relation between iugum and vinum is here as the context precludes any
that can be suggested, we have no meaning for -ario-, and the text is
subject to suspicion; cf. Keil ad loc., iugum vinarium quid sit non
apparet. -Ario- of Cic. Pro Font. 19, cognoscite nunc de crimine vinario,
means 'relating to the tax on.' Crimen is abstract as is ratio, but the
context makes it possible to go much further than merely 'relating to'
in definition; yet it would be difficult to find any context that should
so constrain ratio.

[10] Lewis and Short quote from Pliny sagittarius, a maker of arrows,
and sagittarium certamen from Dictys Cretensis.

mean ' one who wields ', more specifically ' one who shoots with.'
Sicarius, Cic. E. F., XII, 3, 1, ut non modo sicarii sed etiam
parricidae iudicemini gives -ario- the meaning ' one who wields ',
but there is here a derogatory emotional ingredient also.[11] -Ario-
of Ep 37, id modo videndumst, ut materies suppetat scutariis, is
' a maker.' In the single example of ballistarium, -ario- means
place; Po 202, quem ego haud multo post mittam e ballistario.[12]

   (b) Molarius occurs Cat X, 1, and XI, 1, also Var I, 19, 3,
in each case with asinus; and -ario- would mean ' for turning.'
Torcularium means no more than torcular sometimes does, i. e.,
a press. Vasa torcularia, Var I, 22, 4, must mean vessels ' used
with ' the torcular.[13]

   (c) In Cist 522, di me omnes minutique et etiam patellarii
faxint, -ario- may mean ' presiding over '; but cf. Weise's note
ad loc.: patellarios intelligunt lares, quibus cibus in patella
adponebatur. Patinarias struices, Men 102, is difficult to deter-
mine; according to Lewis and Short ' patinarias ' is no more
than a genitive of patinae, but in As 180, vel patinarium, vel
assum, it is equivalent to ' stewed in a pan ', whether it be taken
as referring to piscis or to amator. -Ario- of Ru 756, ampul-
larius, a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον, and of arcularius, Au 519, means ' maker
of '; in vasarium, Cat CXLV, 3, ' money to hire ' in this case
apparently an oil mill, at any rate vasa; and -ario- in armarium
(Men 531 et alibi) and armariola (Tru 55), indicates place.[14]

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   [11] Sicarius is sometimes used as an adjective, e. g., Cic. Pro Sext.
Rosc. III, 8, postulare homines sicarios atque gladiatores. What is
gladiator here but an adjective? It seems to be merely a question as
to whether ' homo ' is present or only implied.

   [12] The resemblance and contrast between sagittarius and sicarius are
especially instructive. Sica and sagitta are both weapons, but handled
in different ways so that the semantic content of -ario- is not quite the
same in both even logically; and sicarius has its unpleasant emotional
ingredient all to itself. If assassination by arrows had been a common
practice, sagittarius would presumably have had something of the sort.
It is by the observation of concrete facts of this kind that one best
understands the growth of language.

   [13] Torcularius is used in Columella to mean one who operates the
torcular. Whether in this case it is formed directly on torcular or
adapted from torcularium, it is impossible to tell.

   [14] Falcarius, Cic. Cat. I, 4, 8, Sull. 18, 52, is a ' maker '; lanternarius,

(d)   Alearius, Mi 164, ut ne legi fraudem faciant aleariae, as
in the case of other adjectives with lex, gives the termination the
meaning ' regulating'[15] -Ario- in A, I, 16, 3 non unquam
turpior in ludo talario consessus fuit means ' place.'

(e)   -Ario- on a stem meaning a garment of any sort occurs
in this collection only in Plautus, except for Cat XI, 3, arcam
vestiariam, where it means ' to contain.' Calceolarius, diaba-
thrarius, flammarius, indusiarius, limbolarius, manulearius,
molocinarius, murobatharius, patagiarius, solearius, semizona-
rius, and strophiarius are all agents of some sort, and -ario- is
a maker or dealer or worker. It is rather strange that in all
this lot of words there seems to be not one that means the
' wearer ' of a garment. In Au 514 solearii astant, astant molo-
cinarii, -ario- carries all the meaning that ibid. 521 quom
incedunt infectores corcotarii is carried by -ario-, and infectores.
-Ario- Au 508, . . . linarius, means a dealer in; if the reading
were ' lanarius ', as suggested in the Goetz-Schoell 'note, this
meaning would be still clearer. The words quoted in this section
occur Au 500-525, and all but one, corcotarius, are substantives.
There are five ἅπαξ λεγόμενα arcularius, diabathrarius, indusiarius,
semizonarius, strophiarius.

(f)   -Ario- Cat X, 1, asinos . . . clitellarios qui stercus vec-
tent, and Plaut. Mo 780-781, nam muliones mulos clitellarios
habent at ego habeo homines clitellarios, has the meaning
' bearing.'

(g)   Money. -Ario- in Cat CXXXII, 2, daps assaria, means
' worth.' Both nummarius and pecuniarius, when used with res,
ratio, difficultas, and such words, give the termination a very
vague meaning that can be no further defined than ' relating to.'
Lex, as usual, allows or requires the meaning ' regulating.'
Examples are A, X, 1, 3, nisi forte iste nummarius ei potest
persuadere, A, X, 11, 2, de ratione nummaria, ibid. 14, 1 propter
utriusque difficultatem pecuniariam.[16] In A, IV, 7, 2, thecam

Piso 20. is ' bearer '; vascularius, Ver. IV, 54, ' maker,' vasaiium, Piso 86,
' money for equipage.'
   [15] An adjective used with lex is formed on a stem meaning either the
matter to be regulated, or the name of the person proposing the law.
   [16] Cf. Cic. Verr. II, 2, 69, difficultas nummaria; ibid. II, 1, 108, (lex)

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nummariam, it has the meaning of place, but A, I, 16, 8, in nummariis iudicibus, that of ' influenced by.' It makes some difference whether nummus is thought of simply as a coin, or as a power or influence. The meaning ' influenced by ' occurs again E. F., III, 11, 3, de mercenariis testibus a suis civitatibus notandis; there is here an unpleasant emotional ingredient, but ' influenced by ' is merely a special case of ' working for ', as in Po 502, in hunc diem iam sum tuos mercennarius.[17]   The unpleasant emotional ingredient recurs Vid 44, non edepol equidem credo mercennarium te esse. It is quite neutral in Cat V, 4 operarium, mercennarium, politorem diutius eundem ne habeat die, and Var I, 17, 2, gravia loca utilius esse mercennariis colere quam servis.[18]

(h) Books, etc. -Ario- of Var III, 2, 14, ex quibus rebus scriba librarius, must mean ' writing ', or further ' copying.' In the other examples of librarius—all in Cicero—there appears no other force, except that in the substantive -ario- has absorbed scriba. Tabellarius [19] as noted above, is very frequent. It has always here the meaning ' letter-carrier.' It is worth noting that the librarius does not ' carry ' the books, and the tabellarius neither writes nor copies the letters—a considerable difference of semantic content in the termination formed upon stems that have so much in common.

(6) Raw Material. -Ario- in Cat XVI, ex fornace calcem eximit calcarius, means ' a burner ', as that is the operation that the workman is called on to perform; but ibid. XXXVIII, 1 fornacem calcariam pedes latam X facito ' for burning.' -Ario- of carbonarius Cas 438, ego remittam ad te virum | cum furca in

Cornelia nummaria; ibid. II, 4, 11, difficultas rei nummariae; rei pecuniariae socium, ibid. Rosc. Am. 40, 117.

[17] The unpleasant emotional ingredient has, of course, nothing to do with -ario- in itself, but is due to the influence of the context, as in these examples of merx or nummus upon iudex or testis.

[18] Cf. stipendiarius, Cic. Ver. III, 12, impositum vectigal est certum, quod stipendiarium dicitur; ibid. Leg. III, 41, quos socios res publica habeat, quos amicos, quos stipendiarios; -ario- here means ' paying ', or ' furnishing.' See also ibid. pro Cael. 26, 62, mulier potens, quadrantaria illa permutatione, and Quint., Inst. Orat. VIII, 6, 53, Clytemnestram quadrantariam.

[19] Cf. Seneca, Ep. 77, 1, tabellarias (naves).

urbem tamquam carbonarium, has the same value as in calcarius. Mater⟨i⟩arius furnishes the meaning ' dealer in ', Mi 920, si non nos materiarius remòratur quod opus qui det.

(7) Buildings and their parts, including Public Places. A, VI, 2, 5, nihil per cubicularium, -ario- is an attendant. The same meaning occurs in macellarius, Var III, 2, 11, ibid. 4, 2; also in E. F., VIII, 6, 4, nisi ego cum tabernariis et aquariis pugnarem, veternus civitatem occupasset, and in cellarius as a substantive, Mi 824, Cap 895. This meaning occurs Var I, 13, 2, si ostiarius est nemo. Here -ario- is the semantic equivalent of -tor as in Men 673, ecquis hic est ianitor, and passim. E. F., VIII, 6, 5, legemque viariam, is the usual ' regulating.' -Ario- of piscinarius means ' addicted to ', ' unduly fond of ', A, I, 19, 6, hos piscinarios dico, amicos tuos; ibid. 20, 3, ut invideant piscinarii nostri. The emotional ingredient is created by the associations of the termination, and has overpowered the logical value of the word. Emotionally, piscinarius belongs with voluptarius; it is odd that there seems nowhere any corresponding use of vinarius.

(8) Vehicles. Essedarius is by orthodox definition a fighter from a chariot, E. F., VII, 6, 2 ne ab essedariis decipiaris caveto. In this collection there is one example each of lecticarius and quadrigarius; E. F., IV, 12, 3, meisque lecticariis in urbem eum referre, and Var II, 7, 15, aliter, quadrigarius ac desultor: -ario- in the former case is ' a carrier ', in the latter ' a driver.' -Ario- in Cat XI, 2, iugum plostrarium and ibid. XI, 1, asinos plostrarios, appears to mean ' for hauling.' E. F., XVI, 9, 4, cuius auctoritate navicularius moveatur, A, IX, 3, 2, quod audita naviculariis hominis liberalitas esset, navicularius is the master or owner of a ship.[20]

(9) Growing Things, Crops, Seeds. -Ario- in Var I, 22, 4, (vasa) acinaria, means ' to contain.' This collection contains three examples of arboraria, in each case with falx, Cat X, 3, and XI, 4, and Var I, 22, 6, and -ario- means ' for pruning.' Falx with faenaria and stramentaria,[21] Cat X, 3, gives -ario-

[20] Cf. Cic. Verr. II, 5, 18, 46, naviculariam (facere). It would be interesting to know the precise value of the diminutive termination here.

[21] Stramentarius is cited in Lewis and Short as a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον, and faenarius is found only once in this collection.

the meaning 'for cutting.' Pilum with fabarium, farrearium, seminarium, Cat X, 5, gives -ario- the meaning 'crushing'; but -ario- of fistulam farrariam, ibid. X, 3, means 'for grinding.' Campus with fenicularius, A, XII, 8, ager with fructuarius, E. F., VIII, 9, 4, silva with glandaria, Var I, 7, 9, give -ario- the meaning 'producing' (though in the case of fructuarius it is probably emphatic), as also in pomarium seminarium,[22] Cat XLVIII, 1; -ario- ibid. 2, eo sarmenta aut cratis ficarias imponito means 'made of.' -Ario- Cat XI, 3, labrum lupinarium, is 'to contain'; Var I, 2, 17, colonus in agro surculario, 'planted with' or 'producing'; ibid. III, 5, 2, aves alias quoque, quae pingues veneunt care, miliariae ac coturnices, 'fed on', or 'fattened with.' Of the substantives in this collection on the stems discussed in this section, most are neuter and local in meaning; e. g., granarium, Tru 523, Cat XCII, Var III, 2, 6, and alibi; pomarium, Var I, 2, 6, violaria, and rosaria, ibid. I, 16, 3, vitiarium, ibid. I, 31, 2, viridarium, A, II, 3, 2, and seminarium passim. Violarius is also a dyer of that color, Au 510, flammarii, violarii, carinarii. Salictarius, Cat XI, 1, gives -ario- the meaning 'attendant.'[23]

(10) Natural Divisions (land, water, etc.) -Ario- of E. F., VIII, 6, 4; et aquariis,[24] is 'a carrier.' Cat I, 3, bonum aquarium, a watering place for cattle, gives the place meaning again. Place is also the meaning of -ario- in Cat X, 2, urceos aquarios, ibid. XI, 3, situlum aquarium, X, 4, labra aquaria; but there is the further idea 'to contain.' In Cat XI, 3, rotam aquariam, -ario- is 'for drawing'; in Var I, 2, 23, ut neque

[22] In pomarium seminarium it does not matter whether pomarium or seminarium is taken as the substantive; but the context, pomarium seminarium ad eundem modum atque oleagineum facito, implies that it is seminarium. There is thus a good semantic parallel between -eo- and -ario-.

[23] Cf. lupus salictarius, Plin. N. H., XXI, 15, 20. Viridarium is an example of an abstract name of color furnishing a concrete noun, but through the intermediate step of a green thing.

[24] This seems the only example of aquarius in the Letters, and this letter was written by Caelius. Var I, 28, 1, primus dies veris est in aquario, gives -ario- the same meaning. -Ario- In Vatin., 12, quum tibi magno clamore aquaria provincia sorte obtigisset, must have the literal meaning 'near.'

lapidicinae neque harenariae [25] ad agri culturam pertinent, merely place. -Ario- Cap 723, inde ibis porro in latomias lapidarias,[26] amounts to no more than a genitive. Nubilarium, Var I, 13, 5 is, as there defined, a shed to keep off rain. The exact relation of -arið- to nubes is curious, almost indefinable for complexity, yet no one has any doubt about the meaning. And what part does the diminutive play? -Ario- of Mi 340 and 378, solarium, means 'place exposed to'; but in Plaut. Fragmenta, Fab. Cert., 22, 24, 28, it is 'a measurer of the motion of.'

(11) Refuse. Cat X, 4, dolia olearia c, labra xii, dolia quo vinaceos condat x, amurcaria. Quo . . . condat is the equivalent of -ario-, i. e. 'to contain.' So Cat XI, 4, sportas faecarias iii, sirpeam stercorariam, ibid. X, 3, sirpeas stercorarias. Cat X, 3, and XI, 4, crates stercorarias apparently give -ario- the meaning 'for levelling.'[27]

(12) Parts of the Body. In E. F., II, 17, 7, quod autem meum erat proprium, ut alariis Transpadanis uti negarem, 'ala' has, of course, a transferred meaning, but -ario- means 'serving in.' I have found no instance of alarius formed on ala in its primitive sense. -Ario- Var II, 10, 5, habent iumenta dossuaria dòmini, ibid. II, 6, 5, qui asellis dossuariis comportant, means 'bearing loads upon' the dorsum. In Curc 239, tum te igitur morbus agitat hepatarius, -ario- means affecting. What -ario- of pedarius may mean cannot be satisfactorily established until a problem of Roman parliamentary procedure is definitely settled. Mommsen discusses the question at some length (Römische Forschungen, Bd. I, pp. 250-268, Der Patricisch-Plebejische Senat der Republik), and indicates general agreement with the statement of Gellius, III, 18, 5. If that theory is correct, -ario-

[25] Lewis and Short cite some interesting later developments of harenarius, e. g., a gladiator and a teacher of the elements of arithmetic.

[26] -Ario- Petronius 117, navem lapidariam means 'for carrying'; ibid. 58, litteras lapidarias, 'cut in.'

[27] Cf. crates ficarias, Cat XLVIII, 2. If cineraria terra, Var I, 9, 7, be correct, -ario- would mean 'like,' presumably in texture or color, but it may be cineracia. Bustuario gladiatore, Cic., Pis. 9, 19, and Martial, III, 93, 15, bustuarias moechas, seem to have the place idea.

seems to mean ' expressing opinion by ' the feet, as distinguished from taking part in debate. This is one of those instances in which the interpretation requires a great deal of context. -Ario- of A, II, 7, 3, Megabocchus et haec sanguinaria iuventus means ' addicted to ', as in piscinarius above; but as in piscinarius the emotional ingredient overpowers the logical content, so here; and ' bloodshed ' would be the appropriate rendering for the sanguis of sanguinarius. In strict English idiom sanguinarius is of course ' bloodthirsty '; one is hardly ' thirsty ' for piscinae, so a more colorless translation of the termination has been used.

(13) Times. It seemed reasonable to include ' anniversarius ' under this head, in spite of the verbal element involved. It is as though *anniversum were the turn of the year. -Ario- A, V, 21, 11, cum anatocismo anniversario, means ' due at '; ibid. I, 18, 3, anniversaria sacra, ' held at.' In Var I, 16, 4, itaque in hoc genus coloni potius anniversarios habent vicinos, quibus imperent, medicos, fullones, fabros, quam in villa suos habeant, quorum non nunquam unius artificis mors tollit fundi fructum, -ario- means ' hired only for '; in A, VIII, 14, 1, et iis diariis militum celeritatem incitat, ' provision for.' [28] There is no place and no doer indicated by these words.

(14) Numerals. A numeral is always, except in such examples as sescenti, definite in quantity, but the further interpretation of any adjective stem is as various as the objects that may be numbered. In Tri, 746, ea condicio huic vel primaria est, E. F., V, 11, 2, feminam primariam, Pompeiam, uxorem tuam commendas, -ario- means ' in class ', and all the examples of primarius in this collection offer nothing different. So in the case of the one example of secundarius, Cat CXXXV, 6, secundarium trapetum latum. In Var III, 6, 6, II, 4, 22, and alibi, grex centenarius, ibid. II, 10, 11, octingenarius, quinquagenarius, septingenarius, -ario- means ' in number.' [29] -Ario- of dolium

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[28] Cf. Gellius, II, 22, 31, et ἐτησίαι et austri anniversarii secundo sole flant; ibid. V, 18, 8, quam graeci ἐφημερίδα vocant; Hor. Ep. I, 14, 40, cum servis urbana diaria rodere mavis; also Late Latin, horarium, a clock.

[29] Senarius, senariolus, septenarius, octonarius, ' containing feet of verse ' do not occur in these examples.

quadragenarium, Cat CV, 1, must mean ' containing' something, probably, as Lewis and Short suggest, congii; in sextarium, Cat CXXVII and passim, 'containing the (sixth) part.' So ibid. XCV, 1, postea sumito bituminis tertiarium et sulpuris quartarium.[30] In Var IB, 1, 26, do etiam in hominibus posse novenarium retineri numerum, novenarius amounts to no more than novem in apposition with numerus.[31] -Ario- in Var III, 1, 6, miliarius clivus, means 'in paces', but in the neuter substantive, e. g., A, VIII, 5, 1, postea audivi a tertio miliario eum isse, it is ' stone marking paces'; this meaning may seem fantastic, but it is there; mille means only 'a thousand.' -Ario- Cap 112, indito catenas singularias is ' of a single ply ', 'lighter', contrasted with maiores of 113. -Ario- Var I, 2, 7, vites trecenariae, is complicated; it means 'yielding (three hundred) amphorae of wine to the juger.' Vites and trecenariae in the context force this meaning upon the termination, but the development of this shortened method of expression may have taken some time. It can hardly be the result of any arbitrary definition. But the most highly complicated case of -ario- on a numeral stem occurs Ps 303, annorum lex me perdit quinavicenaria; ' regulating' is a part of the meaning, as is usual when an adjective—unless derived from a proper noun—limits lex; but regulating what? ' Regulating the activities of those below the age of': this, too, may seem fantastic, but the meaning is all there.[32]

(15) Nouns of Mental Operation. A, IX, 13, 4, de discessu voluntario; E. F., I, 9, 20, voluntaria quadam oblivione, XII, 15, 6, praesidium voluntarium . . . comparavi, VII, 3, 3, mors voluntaria: in these cases -ario-, means ' dependent on.' Voluntas may as a factor be more or less prominent; it is at any rate determining. -Ario- of voluptarius has a wider range. A, XII,

[30] Cf. Lewis and Short, quartarius, a mule driver who received a fourth part of his profits.

[31] Varro, L. L., IX, 86, natura novenaria, numerus novenarius, where

[32] Any adjective termination may be admitted up as determining. each case the final determination is a matter of context. The problem for practical purposes is to find the 'middle' definition, large enough for classification and not too large for accuracy.

2, 2, homini . . . voluptaria . . . quaerenti it means 'causing':
so Mi 641, ex . . . rebus voluptariis. Men 259, voluptarii atque
potatores maximi, Ru 54, homines voluptarios, make -ario- mean
'addicted to'; and Po 602, locum . . . voluptarium, perhaps
'suited for', 'devoted to.' [33]   •

(16) Office or Function. Am 372, hoc quidem profecto cer-
tumst, non est arbitrarium, makes -ario- mean 'subject to'; A,
V, 7, 1, vacationis iudiciariae causa merely 'from', the idea of
separation. In As 434, scio mihi vicarium esse, ibid. 433, and
St 188, -ario- means 'performing.'

(17) Proper Names. The proper names in this collection do
not offer much of interest. Ianuarius, references to which need
not be quoted, gives -ario- the meaning 'named for'; it is cer-
tainly here not place or agent or any sort of likeness. In A, II,
9, 1, hic noster Hierosolymarius traductor ad plebem, -ario-
means logically 'capturer of'; but the emotional ingredient is
probably more important than the logical content; cf. Tyrrell
and Purser ad loc., 'Jerusalemite plebeianizer.'

(18) Religious Rites, etc. Februarius, like Ianuarius, needs
no references. It is the time for februa; -ario- is probably best
interpreted as 'set apart for.' In E. F., XIII, 2, qui habitat
in tyro sacrario, -ario- means 'place for.' [34]

(19) Adverbs. -Ario- of contrarius is as it were 'stationed';
E. F., VIII, 15, 2, a contraria factione nummis acceptis; ibid.
X, 33, 2, in contrariam partem, V, 14, 3, duae res istae contrariae
me conturbant. -Ario- of A, IX, 7, A, 1, ex contrario, seems
of value only for inflectional purposes. -Ario- of As 262, sed
quid hoc quod picus ulmum tundit? haud temerarium est, Au
184, non temerariumst ubi dives blande appellat pauperem, is
'happening'; these things do not happen by chance. It is differ-
ent in E. F., X, 21, 2, indicabo temerarium meum consilium tibi,
and A, IV, 3, 4, contiones turbulentae Metelli, temerariae Appi,

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[33] The orthodox view seems to be that voluptas is primarily subjective,
and that view justifies the interpretation of voluptarius here given; cf.
Cic., Fin. I, 11, 37. But such phrases as Plaut., Tru 353, mea voluptas
strongly suggest an objective meaning.

[34] Magmentarium, Varro L. L., 5, § 112, 'for offering.'

furiosissimae Publi. The contiones are inclined to act rashly, the advice is toward rash action.[35]

(20) Verbs. A,*V, 9, 1, actuariis autem minutis Patras accedere, actuaria has absorbed the idea of 'navis', and contains that of swiftness, but it would be difficult to isolate any definite meaning for -ario-. Actuariolum, A, X, 11, 4, ibid. XVI, 3, 6, and 6, 1, seems to be used only of a ship, and there is a parallel between the diminutive termination and the 'minutis' of the example quoted above.[36] Admissarius, Mi 1112, ad equas fuisti scitus admissarius, Var II, 7, 1 ibid. 8, 3, is in effect a specialized present participle formed upon admitto in its technical sense. Adversarius,[37] passim, is a substantivized present participle in value. Commentarius, A, VII, 3, 7, quod ipse in Tusculano me referre in commentarium mea manu voluit, and alibi, has a perfect passive force. Datarius, St 258, linguam quoque etiam vendidi datariam, Ps 969, nullast mihi salus dataria, though a comic word, furnishes an interesting use of -ario-; it expresses the idea of fitness or purpose, and approaches closely to the gerundive. Eclogarius, A, XVI, 2, 6, sed notentur eclogarii quos Salvius, bonos auditores nactus in convivio dumtaxat legat, though really formed upon the Greek noun, seems to have verbal force, and to offer a good parallel to datarius: passages to be picked out. Praesentarium occurs five times in Plautus: Po 705, aurum poscunt praesentarium; Mo 361, a me argentum petito praesentarium; Tri 1081, praesentariis argenti minis numeratis; Mo 913, sex talenta magna argenti pro istis prae-sentaria; Po 793, qui siquid boni promittunt perspisso evenit, id quod mali promittunt praesentariumst; in these examples -ario- is emphatic, 'on the spot', 'cash down.' Remissarius, ἅπαξ λεγόμενον Cat XIX, 2, remissarios vectes a 'sliding' bolt, is like, but not altogether like, a present participle active; the bolt has a 'permanent possibility' of sliding, i. e., remissarius has a potential idea. It may also be intensive, in which case

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[35] Cf. Au 624, non temerest quod corvos cantat mihi nunc ab laeva manu. It is difficult to see what an inflected form could add here to temere.

[36] Cf. actuarius, a shorthand writer, Suet. Caes. 55.

[37] Cf. Cic. Pro Rosc. Com. II, 7, Quid est quod negligenter scribamus adversaria, i. e., notes.

'easily' could be added. Refractariolus,[38] also a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον, A, II, 1, 3, quod (Demosthenes) se ab hoc refractariolo iudiciali dicendi genere abjunxerat. Here, the diminutive must have the ordinary moderating force, 'rather.' Ridicularia occurs three times in Plautus, As 330, Tri 66, Tru. 684. It is ante- and post-classical, adds nothing to the meaning of ridiculus, and seems only a specialized use of ridiculus as a substantive. The diminutive. termination has no idea of smallness, but probably an idea of unimportance.[39] Satarius (not in Lewis and Short's lexicon, which reads satorius) Cat XI, 5, would give -ario- the idea of purpose. Sectarius, Cap 820, qui petroni nomen indunt verveci sectario is equivalent to a technical use of the perfect participle passive. Sedentarius, Au 513, sedentarii, sutores, diabathrarii, is a professionalized present participle.

(21) Miscellaneous. There are thirteen instances of agrarius in this collection, all from the Letters of Cicero. Wherever.it is used as an adjective it has agreeing with it an abstract noun: facultas, res, largitio, lex, ratio. As a substantive it occurs A, XVI, 16, 11, cum agrarii mare transissent, ibid. I, 19, 4, ego autem magna cum agrariorum gratia confirmabam omnium privatorum possessiones. In the note to I, 19, 4, just quoted, Tyrrell and Purser say that agrarii (as a substantive) in Cicero always means the same as agrinetae. i. e. -ario- is somehow loaded with the idea 'those seeking reform in the administration of.' Auxiliarius occurs twice in Cicero's Letters, E. F., X, 32, 5, militem . . . auxiliarium; ibid. II, 17, 7, equitibus auxiliariis; also once in Plautus, Tru 216, magisque adeo ei consiliarius hic amicust quam auxiliarius. -Ario- in these examples means 'furnishing', but the first two are technical. Balnearium occurs three times, Qu. fr. III, 1, 1, ibid. 1, 2, and A, XIII, 29, 2, each time as a place. In Tru 480, fer huc verbenam mi intus et bellaria, it is not fanciful to regard -ario- as carrying the meaning 'to eat', a sort of dative of purpose. Any definite semantic content has pretty well evaporated in -ario- of congiarium, which occurs

[38] Sen. Ep. LXXIII, 1, qui existimant philosophiae fideliter deditos contumaces ac refractarios, requires for -ario- some such meaning as 'inclined to.'

[39] Cf. W. Petersen, The Greek Diminutive Suffix -ισκὸ- -ισκη-, Yale Press, 1913, § 74, Faded Diminutives.

. three times, A, XVI, 8, 2, X, 7, 3, and E. F., VIII, 1, 4, in
each case meaning 'a gift'; it is a case of a secondary meaning
absorbing the whole word. Consiliarius occurs in Cicero and
Plautus, and -ario- means 'furnishing', except Mi 1013, socium
tuorum conciliorum et participem consiliarium, where, if cor-
rect, it is equivalent to a genitive termination. -Ario- A, XIII,
6, 1, columnarium vide ne nullum debeamus, means 'a tax'; in
E. F., VIII, 9, 5, (written by Caelius) nolo te putare Favonium
a columnariis praeteritum -ario- equals 'condemned at.' -Ario-
St 227, malacas crapularias, presumably means 'for reducing.'
Extraordinarius occurs in this collection three times, Var II, 1,
28, extraordinariae fructuum species, and ibid. 11, 1, de extra-
ordinario pecudum fructu; A, V, 9, 1, munus hoc extraordina-
rium; here -ario- seems to add nothing to the preposition and
noun except an adjectival termination. -Ario- of Cap 96, quae
aedes lamentariae mihi sunt, means 'causing.' Manifestarius
adds little to manifestus; Mi 444, manifestaria [res] es[t], Au
469, furem manifestarium, Tri 895, teneo hunc manifestarium,
Ba 918, obtruncaret moechum manifestarium. 'Caught in the
act' would sometimes be a satisfactory translation. Necessarius
is the most common of the words considered. Cicero defines it,
Inv. II, 145, id quod imperatur necessarium, illud quod per-
mittitur voluntarium. Necessarius is (1) merely an inflected .
necesse when used impersonally; and (2) with the meaning
'closely bound' when used of a person, a meaning which yields
nothing very definite for -ario-. There are seven examples of
oneraria, with or without navis, but in each case referring to a
ship; e. g., E. F., XII, 14, 2, onerariae omnes ad unam a nobis
sunt exceptae, ibid. 15, 2, naves onerarias. -Ario- means in
any case 'for bearing,' and where used as a substantive has
absorbed the idea of navis.[40] There are nineteen examples of
operarius, which occurs in all the authors examined. In every
case but one it is a substantive. The exception is A, VII, 2, 8,
nam de altero illo minus sum admiratus, operario homine; -ario-
is 'working at, performing.' The emphasis here is not on the

[40] Cf. Livy, XLI, 4, iumenta oneraria. Where ships are concerned,
there is an interesting contrast in the nature of the stems of actuaria
and oneraria.

logical but on the emotional,[41] 'working class.' In Cat V, 4, operarium, mercennarium, politorem, diutius eundem ne habeat die, -ario- of operarius is ' working at ', of mercennarium 'working for.' Obaerarius, Var I, 17, 2, iique quos nostri obaerarios vocitarunt, is, according to Lewis and Short, a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον; -ario- means 'bound' or 'obligated by.' Pernecessarius occurs several times in the Letters of Cicero, but offers nothing new. Qu. fr. I, 2, 6, renuntiari tibi Licinium plagiarium cum suo pullo milvino tributa exigere: whatever the relation of plagiarius to plagium or the development of meaning in plagium, -ario- has the ordinary agent meaning. Solitarius is, according to Paucker, of two suffixes. So far as the termination can be analyzed, Var III, 16, 4, apes non sunt solitaria natura, it means 'addicted to living.' -Ario-, Mi 225, res subitaria, means 'occurring.' Sumptuarius occurs A, XIII, 7, 1, ibid. 47, (a), E. F., VII, 26, 2, and IX, 15, 5, in three instances with lex, in one with ratio; 'regulating' and 'relating to' are as much as one can say of the meaning of -ario- here. -Ario- of Au 395, confige sagittis fures thensaurarios, is equivalent to 'robbing.' Topiarius occurs Qu. fr. III, 1, 5, topiarium laudavi, and ut denique illi palliati topiariam facere videantur et hederam vendere. Topia is landscape gardening, and by the addition of -ario- in the masculine, the abstract becomes concrete: ' I have praised the gardner.' Topiaria remains abstract; and -ario- is equivalent to, or at any rate topiaria has absorbed the meaning of, ars. Usurarius occurs four times in the text of Plautus, twice with uxor, once with puer, and once with aes. The references are, Am 498, 980, Curc 382, Tru 72. -Ario- here again seems equivalent to a dative of purpose.[42]

It will be seen that the range of meaning of -ario-, its semantic area, is wide. -Ario- has, however, certain tendencies. Instrument, agent, and place, are the first notions that rise in the mind

[41] Columella, VI, 2, 15, has pecus operarium, working cattle, with no disparaging emotional ingredient; this ingredient appears Plin. N. H., XIV, 10, 12, § 86, vinum operarium. Vinum operarium may be compared with panis cibarius above.

[42] Usurarius occurs also Am, Argumentum I, 3, Alcmenam uxorem cepit usurariam. As to the dative of purpose, there is an interesting parallel in Lucretius III, 971, vitaque mancipio nulli datur, omnibus usu.

at the sight of this termination. That means simply that these are the prevailing uses of -ario-, and tells nothing more specific about the nature of the instrumentality, agency, or place. There is here no example of -ario- meaning in the literal sense 'made of ', ' nature of ', ' abounding in ' or ' like.' Canariam (insulam) and capraria (insula) quoted above from Pliny, N. H., VI, 32, 205, and III, 11, 78, show that one of these meanings can be found in -ario- words.

It might be expected that in any one group of -ario- words, such as those given above, the termination would have a tendency to preserve a more or less constant value. Yet it seems that in general any one moderately large group of such words will give as many meanings as would a group of the same size chosen at random from the whole lot. 5(e), Garments, seems to come nearest of any of the groups to a common meaning for the termination, and the majority of these words come from Au 507-521 where the context is the same throughout for every termination, and the only difference is caused by the stems. It might be supposed also that the concrete stems would offer in their terminations a greater divergency of meanings than the abstract, but in a group such as 14, Numerals, the divergence is as great as in the case of a similar number of concrete stems.

There are many words that have become substantives, and these convey a definite meaning even when standing alone; e. g., asinarius, macellarius, sagittarius, tabellarius. There are others that require something in the way of a context to decide between possible meanings, but that have a rather general meaning in any case; as contrarius, necessarius. There are some, of which Hierosolymarius is perhaps the most notable example in this collection, that have an almost infinite possibility of meanings, yet are by their context limited to some one definite meaning that could never be inferred without a knowledge of the specific facts; polentarius, quinavicenaria, are of this class. There are some, usually among those formed on concrete stems meaning things that have only one or two points of interest to the public, that can be understood from their gender or with only a word of context; e. g., argentarius, argentaria, as substantive or adjective, though here one may meet such combinations as elecebrae argentariae. There are some formed, e. g., on numerals, where

LUCILIUS'S *CENA RUSTICA*.

The fifth book of Lucilius contained ʾa passage which the satirist wrote, according to Charisius,[1] 'deridens rusticam cenam enumeratis multis herbis.' These words present a difficulty. For it seems unlikely, in view of the satirist's well-known antagonism to luxury, that 'country fare,' as such, should ever have been the object of his ridicule. For this reason Cichorius[2] has argued that the adjective 'rusticam' in Charisius's description must have been employed in its secondary sense of 'rough' or 'boorish.' In support of his contention he shows that several of the extant fragments of Book V might easily ·have belonged to an account of a meal marked by ill breeding and disorderly behavior. There is, however, one objection to interpreting the adjective in this sense—the fact that the phrase 'deridens rusticam cenam' is immediately followed by the words 'enumeratis multis herbis.' This collocation of phrases makes it probable, in my opinion, that 'rusticam' was used in its primary sense and that a country meal was actually the satirist's theme. It seems not to have been an ordinary country meal, however, for the words of Charisius certainly suggest that the most striking feature of the account of it given by the satirist was the large number of common herbs referred to therein. The passages from Timemon (Gat. II 509, 98 K.), the Palatine Anthology (xi. 413), and Plautus (*Pseud.* 810 ff.) quoted by Marx in his commentary on Lucilius 193 do not, in my opinion, afford any very satisfactory hints as to what the character of the piece may have been. Marx, taking his suggestion from the fragment of Philemon, links up the *cena rustica* with the series of fragments from the same book which refer to the poet's ill health and supposes that it was a frugal meal served up to the invalid poet by a friend who scrupulously observed the sumptuary regulations of the *lex Fannia* or the *lex Licinia*. It might be suggested, too, that the Lucilian passage resembled on a larger scale the epigram of Ammianus in the Palatine Anthology quoted by Marx, which tells how the poet fled from a vegetarian meal provided by a host who served his friends

[1] GL I p. 100, 29 K.
[2] *Untersuchungen zu Lucilius*, pp. 269-273.

with food fitter for cattle than for men. But both of these
suggestions are open to the same objection, the unlikelihood that
Lucilius would ridicule simple fare on its own account.

I venture to suggest, therefore, that a possible clue to the
character of the piece may be derived from a consideration of
Matron's Ἀττικὸν δεῖπνον, quoted in Athenaeus iv. 134 D-137 B.[3]
This composition, probably written near the end of the fourth
century B. C., is a burlesque account of a sumptuous dinner-
party at Athens in a hexameter poem constructed for the most
part out of verses ingeniously parodied from Homer. The high-
sounding phrases in which the most ordinary things are referred
to and described give the piece an exceptionally amusing effect.
To various viands, as well as to participants in the feast, are
given sonorous mythological names which add to the mock-
heroic humor of the piece, as do the numerous military meta-
phors; for example, the host and the cook are represented as
passing along the ranks of guests like generals reviewing their
troops, the food is spoken of as an enemy to be subdued, and
the guests are described as vying with one another in feats of
gastronomic valor. A striking feature of the composition is
that it contains a veritable ' Catalogue of Fish.' It was obviously
written with the Homeric ' Catalogue of Ships ' in mind, and
the form ἦλθε or an equivalent occurs repeatedly with some fish
or other dainty as the subject. Over thirty varieties of fish are
represented as arriving upon the scene of action within a space
of seventy verses.

My suggestion is that Lucilius, who may well have been ac-
quainted with Matron's parody—his *eruditio mira* is attested by
Quintilian (x. 1. 94)—, composed a satire[4] exhibiting many

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[3] Edited with commentary in P. Brandt, *Corpusculum poesis epicae
ludibundae*, I, pp. 60-95. See also F. Ullrich, *Entstehung und Ent-
wickelung der Litteraturgattung des Symposion* (Progr. Würzburg
1908-9), II, pp. 20 ff. and U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, "Lese-
früchte CLXXV," in *Hermes* 58 (1923), pp. 73-79. The quotation in
Athenaeus is 122 verses long. It seems clear that there are some
lacunae, but it is probable that we possess the piece practically in its
entirety, also that this was not the only δεῖπνον composed by Matron;
cf. note 5 below.

[4] I assume with Cichorius (*loc. cit.*) that the passage referred to by
Charisius formed an independent composition.

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was familiar with many of the plays of the comic writers, Greek as well as Latin. From them might easily have come suggestions of a sort to prompt the writing of a burlesque piece such as I have conjectured the *cena rustica* to be.

The enumeration of articles of food was a device frequently employed by the writers of comedy to produce a humorous effect. Why their audiences should have found these lists of viands so entertaining is something of a mystery.[9] Also, the culinary element in the comedies would doubtless seem less conspicuous to us if more of the Greek comic poets were represented by extant plays instead of fragments, since the fragments which we have are derived to such a considerable extent from Athenaeus and consequently reflect his gastronomical interests. The fact remains that passages dealing with food and dining are surprisingly numerous, especially in the writers of the Old Comedy and of the so-called Middle Comedy.[10]

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[9] Lists of other things were of course frequent. The rapid recital of long lists was presumably capable of producing a very comic effect. A particularly amusing example is Aristophanes *Acharn.* 544-554.

[10] The tradition goes back to Epicharmus; see the fragments of the Ἥβας γάμος. Notable examples of passages in which the humorous effect seems to depend solely or primarily upon the mere enumeration of articles of food are the following: Pherecrates CAF. I 157, 45 K; Aristophanes I 413, 518, I 522, 600; Antiphanes II 66, 162 and 163, II 69, 142, II 86, 183, III 105, 217, II 109, 222; Anaxandrides II 151, 41; Eubulus II 185, 63; Ephippus II 251, 3, II 256, 12 and 13; Alexis II 323, 84, II 335, 110, II 343, 127 (of especial interest for its list of herbs), II 360, 172; Axionicus II 415, 8; Mnesimachus II 437, 4; Sotades II 447, 1; Menander III 148, 518. The following passages apparently derive their humor from something besides the mere enumeration of dishes: Aristophanes *Acharn.* 1097-1142, *Equites* 1164-1223, *Eccles.* 841-847 and 1168-1175, CAF. I 423, 130 K; Plato I 646, 173; Antiphanes II 20, 26; Eubulus II 166, 7, II 190, 74; Diphilus II 545, 17; Anaxippus III 296, 1; Plautus *Captivi* 846-853, *Persa* 85-98, *Pseudolus* 810-836. Gastronomical marvels are described in the following fragments: Pherecrates CAF. I 174, 108 K, I 182, 130; Teleclides I 209, 1; Metagenes I 706, 6; Nicophon I 777, 13: it is interesting to note that the first of these passages was imitated by Lucilius, if the reading adopted by Marx in Lucilius 978 f. is correct. Examples of passages in which frugal or sordid fare is referred to are the following: Antiphanes CAF. II 111, 226 f. K; Alexis II 356, 162; Diphilus II 544, 14; Poliochus III 390, 2; Plautus *Poen.* 325 f., *Stichus* 689-691. In addition to the passages already cited I have

Out of the impressive number of such passages there are three which seem to call for special mention here because of the fact that they exhibit features which bring them into close relation with the parodies of Matron and- with the hypothetical *cena rustica*. They are fragments of Eubulus (CAF. II 177, 37 K), of Ephippus (II 255, 8), and of Diphilus (II 555, 44). In each of the three passages the coming onto the table of viands at a banquet is obviously being described; the descriptions are very much in the manner of Matron, and the viands mentioned in the few verses that have been preserved in each case were almost certainly items in a longer catalogue. Attention may be called especially to the high-sounding language of the fragment of Eubulus, to the quasi-personification of viands implied in the verbs ἐπεισέπλει of vs. 1 of the fragment of Eubulus and ἐπῆττε of vs. 4 of the fragment of Diphilus,[11] and to the phrases ἐμασώμεθα οὕτως ἀνδρικῶς in vs. 5 of the fragment of Ephippus and λοπάδων· παρατεταγμένη φάλαγξ in vs. 3 of the fragment of Diphilus, which are of interest in connection with Matron's military metaphors. These passages show that the combination of catalogues of viands with the mock-heroic tone had a well-established place in comedy and that Lucilius would not have been venturing far off the beaten track of literary tradition if he had composed a satire in which the same combination was present.[12]

My argument may be recapitulated thus. (1) The words of Charisius become fully intelligible if we assume that Lucilius

noted over forty fragments of the Greek comic writers and of Plautus which contain lists of articles of food ranging in length from one to four verses; some of these may have belonged to more extended lists, and indeed in a few instances are of such a character as to imply that they did so.

[11] The word ἐπεχόρευσε is used in vs. 1 of this fragment, not however of a single dish; Diphilus used the same word in another fragment (II 562, 64), the reading of which is rather corrupt but which exhibits slight suggestions of the mock-heroic.

[12] Lucilius also followed more or less traditional lines in composing other descriptions of meals of various sorts. These were fairly numerous in his writings. For a discussion of them and of their relation to other similar compositions, Greek and Latin, see the present writer's article, "The *Cena* in Roman Satire," in *Class. Phil.* XVIII (1923), 126-143.

The freedom with which the Odyssey uses neuter plural subjects with plural verbs shows that the creator of that poem was not imitating an obsolete usage of the Iliad, but that he was using a principle of language alive and creative in his own day. When the Homeric Hymns and the poems of Hesiod were written the feeling had completely changed and the use in these poems of plural verbs with neuter plural subjects is essentially limited to Homeric examples. The Iliad and the Odyssey reflect exactly the same feeling and clearly belong to the same creative age in the matter of the use of plural verbs with neuter subjects, an age long anterior to the creation of the poetry of Hesiod and the Homeric Hymns.

In general it is impossible to see any reason for the choice in any particular case of either the singular or the plural verb with neuter plural subject, but the reason must have lain in the poetic instincts of the author.

There are three words for knees in Homer and all are neuter plurals, γούνατα, γοῦνα, γυῖα. However, the last is more indefinite in its meaning and does not always refer to the knees. The first of these is used with the singular verb seventeen times, with the plural but once, the second has the singular verb four times, the plural not at all, while the third has the plural ten times, the singular but eight. There is no neuter plural used as a subject as many of the things which does not take both the singular and the plural verb.

The following pairs seem to make impossible any other distinction between the singular and the plural verb than the hidden choice of poetic feeling; that is, melody and not meaning guided the poet:

ἅρματα ἀίξασκε	Ψ 369.	ἅρματα ἐπέτρεχον	Ψ 504.
βέλεα ἅπτεται	P 631.	βέλεα ῥέον	M 159.
γυῖα βαρύνεται	T 165.	γυῖα λύθεν	Π 805.
δένδρεα πεφύκει	ε 238.	δένδρεα πεφύκασι	η 114.
δάκρυα χύτο	Ψ 385.	δάκρυα χέοντο	δ 523.
δέσματα ἔχῃσι	α 204.	δέσματα ἐξεκέχυντο	θ 279.
δοῦρα πεπήγει	Π 772.	δοῦρα πάγεν	Λ 572.
δούρατα κανάχιζε	M 36.	δούρατα ἤιξαν	E 657.
δράγματα πίπτει	Λ 69.	δράγματα πίπτον	Σ 552.
δώματα τέτυκτο	Λ 77.	δώματα τετεύχαται	N 22.

δώματά ἐστιν	ρ 265.	δώματα ἔασιν	ε 381.
δῶρά ἐστιν	Υ 265.	δῶρα ἔσαν.	η 132.
ἔγχεα πέπηγεν	Γ 135.	ἔγχεα πτύσσοντο	Ν 134.
ἔθνεα προχέοντο	Β 465.	ἔθνεα ἀγείρετο	λ 632.
εἵματα κεῖται	ζ 26.	εἵματα κέονται	Χ 510.
ἔντεα κέκλιτο	Κ 471.	ἔντεα ἔχονται	Σ 130.
ἔργα τέτυκται	Χ 450.	ἔργα τετεύχαται	β 63.
ἔργα γένοιτο	τ 391.	ἔργα γένοντο	Θ 130.
ἐρετμὰ ἔπτατο	μ 203.	ἐρετμὰ ἔπειγον	μ 205.
ἡνία σύγχυτο	Π 470.	ἡνία ἠΐχθησαν	Π 404.
ἤματα τελέσθη	τ 153.	ἤματα πέλονται	σ 367.
κτήματά ἐστιν	ψ 355.	κτήματα ἔασιν	τ 411.
μῆλα ἕσπετο	Ν 492.	μῆλα ἰαύεσκον	ι 184.
οὔατά ἐστιν	Ο 129.	οὔατα ἦσαν	Λ 633.
πείρατα ἐφῆπται	Μ 79.	πείρατα ἔχονται	Η 102.
τεύχεα κεῖται	Γ 195.	τεύχεα ἔχονται	Σ 197.

Monro in his *Homeric Grammar,* section 173, attempts to
account for the neuter plural taking a plural verb by saying:
" When the plural is used, it will generally be found that the
word is really plural in meaning; i. e., that it calls up the notion
of distinct units. Thus it is used with distinctly plural parts of
the body." He then cites such neuter plurals as χείλεα, οὔατα,
μέλεα. However χείλεα is never thus used when it refers to parts
of the body, but only when it means the rim of a jar, and then
in the single phrase, χείλεα κεκράαντο, three times repeated. Like-
wise οὔατα takes the plural verb but once and that once it refers
not to ears as parts of the body, but to the handles of Nestor's
wine jar. The word μέλεα is used with a plural verb but a sin-
gle time. His additional note that " The exception to the use
of the singular verb with the neuter plural subjects are fewest
with pronouns and adjectives, doubtless on account of their want
of a distinct plural meaning," was based on a conjecture of what
might be probable, but it is also contrary to the facts, since it is
just with pronouns that Homer uses the plural verbs most freely.
The four pronouns, ἅ, τά, ταῦτα, τάδε, take twenty-one plural
verbs and but fifty-two verbs in the singular, which is a decid-
edly higher ratio of plural to singular than obtains with nouns.

Vogrinz, Grammatik des homerischen Dialektes, pp. 288 ff.,
gives an apparently complete list of neuter plural nouns with

singular verbs only, with plural verbs only, and with both singular and plural verbs. His results are far different from those reached independently by me. He places among the neuter plural nouns used exclusively with singular verbs, βέλεα, γούνατα, δέσματα, θύρετρα, μῆλα, πείρατα. The verbs may easily be changed from plural to singular in βέλεα ῥέον, M 159, θύρετρα στείνοιντο, σ 386, μῆλα ἰαύεσκον, ι 184, but no such a change is permitted by the meter in γούνατα ἐρρώσαντο, ψ 3, δέσματα ἐξεκέχυντο, θ 279, and especially in πείρατα ἔχονται, H 102.

There are six neuter plurals used only with singular verbs which he has overlooked, each in a single passage, δαίδαλα ἀνέβραχε, Τ 13, κέρα πεφύκει, Δ 109, μελεδήματα ἔγειρεν, ο 8, μετάφρενα γυμνωθείη, M 428, πρόβατα ἔσκε, Ξ 124, ῥόπαλα ἐάγη, Λ 559.

The short list given by Vogrinz of neuter plurals used exclusively with plural verbs is most misleading, since even that short list contains three words, στόματα, τέκνα, φρείατα, which never take the plural verb, except when they are included in a compound subject.

The author refers to B 489 as an illustration of the use of στόματα with a plural verb:

οὐδ' εἴ μοι δέκα μὲν γλῶσσαι, δέκα δὲ στόματ' εἶεν,

where the verb is used quite as much with ... ...
neuter plural.

He does not name the passages where τέκνα is used with the plural verb, but there are three: μ 42, B 136, Σ 514. In the first the subject is γυνὴ καὶ νήπια τέκνα, in the other two the subject is ἄλοχοι καὶ νήπια τέκνα. In anyone of these three passages the singular could hardly have been used, even if the neuter had been itself singular and not plural.

The last word given by him, φρείατα, is used but once in Homer and that once in Φ 197:

’Ωκεανοῖο,

ἐξ οὗ περ πάντες ποταμοὶ καὶ πᾶσα θάλασσα

καὶ πᾶσαι κρῆναι καὶ φρείατα μακρὰ νάουσιν·

It is hard to believe that anyone who has read Homer could quote this passage to illustrate the use of a neuter plural subject with a plural verb.

The neuters which most frequently take the plural verb are the two nouns, ἡνία, ἔθνεα, the first is used five times with the plural and but once with the singular, yet the ἡνία σύγχυτο of Π 470 seems to represent the same notion of plurality as the ἡνία ἠίχθησαν used in the same book but a few verses before, Π 404. The second word, ἔθνεα, takes the plural verb six times, the singular but once. These two words are the only Homeric neuter plurals, used as often as six times, which show any marked preference for the plural verb.

Much seems to depend on the form of the verb, so that when some present form of the verb πέλω is used, if the neuter plural takes the active form of the verb it is always used in the singular, but if the middle is used it is invariably plural. The neuter plural subject never takes πέλουσι nor πέλεται, but either πέλει or πέλονται, generally the latter. There are so many examples of this and the subjects are so varied that we can hardly doubt that it was the euphony of the verb which guided the poet in his choice. The fact that we have ἤματα πέλονται σ 367 and in a few verses ἤματα τελέσθη, τ 153, must have its explanation in the form of the verb rather than in any shift in the meaning of the subject.

It can hardly be an accident that no neuter plural subject ever takes a verb ending in -ουσι, hence when there is a choice between such a form as ἔχει and ἔχουσι, the singular form is always chosen. Hesiod differs from Homer in this, since in the four plural verbs he has with neuter subjects in the Theogony two of them are μέλουσι and καίουσι.

There is a decided tendency to use the plural of the imperative with neuter plural subjects, especially in the form μελόντων. When Eumaeus was about to return to his hut and his swine he urged Telemachus to be on his guard, summing up his advice with these words, σοὶ πάντα μελόντων ρ 594. Telemachus at once replied and repeated his words, but he said ἐμοὶ τάδε πάντα μελήσει. Evidently the singular of the indicative reëchoes the plural of the imperative, and no refinement was intended regarding the content of the subject. The distinction is one of meter and melody, but not of meaning or of grammar.

Homer sometimes combines in a single verse or sentence a singular verb and a plural with neuter plural subjects:

Β 135: δοῦρα σέσηπε νεῶν καὶ σπάρτα λέλυνται.

Ο 315: δοῦρα . . . ἄλλα πήγνυτο . . . πολλὰ ἵσταντο. These

words δοῦρα and πολλά are used elsewhere both with a singular and with a plural verb, so that the choice here must be the result of metrical needs. The plural verbs in both of these passages can hardly be due to any peculiar plural meaning in the subject or to any vague feeling of a dualizing plural.

The following conclusions seem warranted, first, the Iliad and the Odyssey belong to and reflect the same stage of linguistic development in the use of the plural verb with the neuter plural subject, and second, the choice of singular or plural verb with neuter plural subject depended rather on the metrical form of the verb than on any shift of meaning in the subject. The causes are to be found in the vague domain of melody rather than in the definite logic of grammar.

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HESIOD'S POLYP

One is apt to experience a certain distress of mind upon reading in Botsford's Hellenic History a description of life in winter based on Hesiod: "We catch but one pleasing glimpse of indoor life, ..., ... girl bides near her mother. After bathing and anointing herself with oil, she sleeps peacefully during the night, while out of doors the homeless polypous gnaws his own foot in dismal haunts." [1] The contrast of the young girl within the house with the polyp out of doors seems rather unexpected. Farmers usually have little to say about such animals. The matter is further complicated by the fact that this particular cuttle-fish is gnawing his foot! The Greek text is: [2]

$$ὅτ᾽ ἀνόστεος ὃν πόδα τένδει$$
$$ἔν τ᾽ ἀπύρῳ οἴκῳ καὶ ἤθεσι λευγαλέοισιν.$$

Now the interpretation of ἀνόστεος as given by Hesychius,

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[1] G. W. Botsford: Hellenic History, 1922, page 53.

[2] Hesiodi Carmina Recensuit Aloisius Rzach, editio altera 1908, Teubner text, Works and Days, lines 524-25.

ἀνόστεος ὁ θαλάσσιος πολύπους, σκώληξ, seems to have been gener-
ally accepted.[3] But that the polyp gnaws its own foot has not
found such universal credence. Pliny (N. H. IX, 29) says:
Ipsum brachia sua rodere falsa opinio est; id enim e congris
evenit ei. It is ordinarily dismissed as a popular misconception.

We have another difficulty in the following line:

οὐδέ οἱ ἠέλιος δείκνυ νομὸν ὁρμηθῆναι.

Is the polyp in the habit of going to pasture? This is some-
what harder to explain. Furthermore, we hear sometimes of
cuttle-bone, the interior shell of the cuttle-fish. So the Bone-
less One is apparently not even boneless. Of course, in the popu-
lar imagination it might be so.

But is it not possible to suggest a simpler and more natural
interpretation? There are several words of this sort in The
Works and Days: the Housebearer, which is interpreted the
snail; the Day-sleeping Man, the thief; the Knowing One, the
ant; and so on.[4] They are all familiar things of the farmer's
daily life. It is doubtful whether the octopus was so familiar.

Professor H. J. Rose suggests that a tabu of speech lies at
the bottom of some of these words. He cites the following: [5]

' And cut not, on the merry feast-day of the gods, dry from
green off the five-branched thing with bright iron.' . . . Re-
duced to more common speech it means, ' Do not pare your nails
on a holy day.' . . . Nail-parings are common magical material;
get those of an enemy, and you may by the use of proper charms
work all kinds of evil on him.

Of course in some cases, or possibly in all cases, it may be
merely ornamental language. And yet, in the instance under
discussion, it might conceivably be a relic of protective magic.
May we not interpret the Boneless One as the sheep-dog, and
say that the periphrasis was intended originally to preserve the

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[3] For example, F. A. Paley, The Epics of Hesiod (second edition,
revised; London, 1883) ; C. Goettling, ed. of 1843 (Gothae) ; Heber M.
Hays, Notes on the Works and Days of Hesiod (dissertation, Univ. of
Chicago; Chicago, 1918).

[4] Line 571, φερέοικος; 605, ἡμερόκοιτος ἀνήρ; 778, ἴδρις; see Hays' thesis
for others.

[5] H. J. Rose, Primitive Culture in Greece 1925, pages 138-39.

dog from hostile influences? Hesiod has mentioned many of
the familiar animals of the farm: the ox, the goat, the sheep.
Why not the dog? In the house all is warm and cheerful while
in the fireless out-house all is dismal, and the dog is hungry.
He has no bone! Obviously he does not gnaw his own foot any
more than a cuttle-fish would, but this is proper poetic exag-
geration with proper poetic effect. It is the time, as Hesiod says,
for men to have larger rations and the oxen but half.[6] The
dog [7] is cold and hungry for the sun shows him no pasture to
which he may go. There in the summer-time the sheep-dog
might well procure bones from animals of his own killing.

With this rendering of ἀνόστεος the lines might be read: [8]
" Through the delicate maiden it (Boreas) bloweth not, who
within the house abideth by her dear mother's side, not yet
knowing the works of golden Aphrodite: When she hath bathed
her tender body and anointed her with olive oil and lieth down
at night within the house, on a winter day, when the Boneless
One (sheep-dog) gnaweth his own foot within his fireless house
and cheerless home: for the sun showeth him no pasture
whereto to go, but wheeleth over the land and city of swarthy
men and shineth more slowly on the Panhellenes."

And so we suggest *not* HESIOD'S POLYP—but HESIOD'S DOG!

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[6] Lines 559-60.

[7] Hesiod elsewhere, lines 604-5, gives the practical admonition to feed
the sharp-toothed dog lest the Day-sleeping Man steal one's goods. It is
evident from this that dogs were often boneless in winter.

[8] The translation is that of A. W. Mair, Oxford 1908, with two paren-
thetical words of our own inserted.

⊙ REPORTS.

RHEINISCHES MUSEUM, Vol. LXXV (1926).

Pp. 1-5. C. Fries, Homerica. 1. Od. 19, 163 ἀπὸ δρυὸς ἠδ᾽ ἀπὸ πέτρης (cf. Pl. Rep. 544D, Hes. Theog. 35; Pl. Phaedr. 275B). There is a similarity of expression in Jeremiah 2, 26 and 3, 9 and the chronology does not preclude some connection. The expression may have been disseminated by the Phoenicians. 2. In the fourth book of the Odyssey Proteus gives information to Menelaus about Odysseus very unwillingly. Here there may be some influence from the Indic saga. In the Upanishads wisdom is always kept secret from the unworthy. The Brahmans had great fear that their glory might be dimmed by a general knowledge of their teachings. Egyptian influence is also conceivable. In certain respects Proteus resembles the Babylonian god Ea or Oannes.

Pp. 6-44. Gisbert Beyerhaus, Philosophische Voraussetzungen in Augustins Briefen. Erster Teil. A very elaborate discussion of epistles 16-17, in which Augustine and his former teacher, Maximus of Madaura, measure their strength. The psychology of the disputants is discussed and the relation of their arguments to Stoic and Neoplatonic doctrines.

Pp. 45-51. Leo Weber, Zu den Eion- Epigrammen (cf. Plut. Cimon 7; Aeschin. 3, 184; Philol. 74, 257 ff.). At Athens the funeral oration had assumed a more or less fixed form even before Gorgias, and in these three epigrams we probably see traces of this earlier form.

Pp. 52-57. L. Radermacher, Zu Platon dem Komiker. In Cramer, Anecd. 3, 195 we should probably read: Πλάτων, οὐχ ὁ φιλόσοφος, ἀλλ᾽ ὁ Κεραμ<εύς, ὁ κωμ> ικώτατος, ᾧ καὶ Κρατῖνον οἶδα συνᾴδοντα. In this case we would know the deme of Plato. 2. From a consideration of the scholium RV on Aristophanes' *Peace* 394, the scholium on the *Birds* 1556, and that on the *Lysistrata* 490, R. concludes that the *Pisander* of Plato was produced shortly before the *Peace* of Aristophanes.

Pp. 58-83. Anna Tumarkin, Der Unsterblichkeitsgedanke in Platos 'Phädon.' A protest against the assumption of all modern interpreters of the *Phaedo* that the purpose of the dialogue is to prove personal immortality. Plato uses the picture of the soul bidding defiance to death only for the purpose of his exposition. The real problems of the dialogue are: 1. The relation of individual existence to the whole of reality; 2. that of the individual consciousness to its objective content; 3. that of reality to the 'idea.'

Pp. 84-97. O. Schissel, Polybios Hist. X 21, § 2-8. A discussion of Polybius' theory of historical biography as set forth in this introduction to his treatment of Philopoemen, and of the relation of his theory to the statements of the theoretical writers as to the form of the typical ἐγκώμιον.

Pp. 98-105. Alfred Klotz, Ersparung in Schrift und Wort im Lateinischen. Klotz makes use of the examples given by Cicero (Or. 153): *multimodis* [= *multi(s) modis*]; *in vasargenteis* [= *vas(is) argenteis*]; *palm- et crinibus* [= *palm(is) et crinibus*]; *tecti- fractis* [= *tecti(s) fractis*] to emend various passages and to explain certain readings of the MSS. Marcellus Empiricus (20, 5 p. 147, 34 Nied.) *ponderis portati- vel ex contusionė* [= *portati(one)*]; Bell. Hisp. 18, 6 *transfuge- nuntiaruntque* [= *transfuge(runt)*]; Caes. B. C. 1, 64, 6 *excipi- ac sublevantur* [= *excipi(untur)*]; Bell. Afr. 51, 2 *duc- et ita derigere* [= *duc(ere)*]; Plaut. Men. 308 *ill- homines* [= *ill(os)*]; Trin. 920 *ist- homines* [= *ist(os)*]; etc. (altogether twelve examples from Plautus). It is a striking feature of Terence that he does not allow himself this liberty except in the case of *multimodis* (Heaut. 320).

Pp. 106-114. W. Morel, Eine Rede bei Josephus (Bell. Iud. VII 341 sqq.). The speech of Eleazar could not have been delivered in this form, since all who heard it perished. Josephus avails himself of what he found in Greek authors and composes an imaginary address. M. sees traces of the influence of Plato, Euripides, Posidonius, Aristotle, Xenophon, and Megasthenes.

Pp. 115-126. Th. Birt, *Pontifex* und *sexagenarii de ponte*. (Zu Catull c. 17). The meanings of the Greek words γεφυρίζειν and γεφυρισμός (cf. Strabo 400; Plut. Sull. 6 and 13; Hesych. s. v. γεφυρίς) show that in v. 1 *laedere* and not *ludere* is correct. Catullus' bridge was apparently used for *sacra* which consisted in *salire* and *subsilire*. V. 6 should read: *In quo vel ' sali subsili!' sacra suscipiantur*, possibly *In quo ' vel sali subsili!' sacra suscipiantur*. *Sali* and *subsili* are imperatives and are the *sacra* referred to. Their use is similar to that in the titles of books and poems. Cf. titles of Varro's Menippean satires. The dance referred to by Catullus was like that of the Salii, and CIL 5, 4492 proves that there were Salii at Verona. A wooden floor was better than stone for dancing and in primitive times the bridge was used for the Salian dances. Swamps and rivers protected a city. On the other side was the enemy and the bridge afforded him an approach. Thus the martial dance on the bridge, with its stamping and blowing of trumpets, was to protect the city. The enemy on the other side heard it and was seized by a holy awe. This gives a solution for the problem of the origin of the word *pontifex*. The priest was bridge-

builder and in early times was appointed to build the wooden bridges necessary for the *sacra,* especially for the *sacra Saliorum.* The Catullus poem also affords a possible explanation of the proverbial *sexagenarii de ponte* (cf. Cic. Rosc. Am. 100; Varro Menip. 493 f. Büch.; *depontani* Fest. 75 M.). It is probable that at an early period it was the custom to thrust from the bridge aged people who could no longer take part in the dancing and leaping. This would constitute the *laedere* of v. 1. In v. 8, where Catullus wants to pitch an old fellow head over heels from the bridge, he is probably thinking of the proverbial expression.

Pp. 127-128. Miszellen. 1. Otmar Schissel, note on Ausonius, Mosella 32. 2. Fridericus Marx, *De Rudentis comoediae nomine Graeco.* A reply to Wilamowitz, *Menander das Schiedsgericht,* Berlin, 1925 (*pagina ultima*). 3. N. Wecklein, Zu Strab. 5, 235. For κατακαμφθέντες probably κατακαμαρωθέντες or καμαρωθέντες is to be read. 4. Alfred Klotz, Zu Ps. Plut. Mor. 241 a. Read: δειλοὶ κλαιέσθωσαν · ἐγὼ ιδέ σε, τέκνον, ἄδακρυς | θάπτω τὸν καὶ ἐμὸν καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιον.|

Pp. 129-141. M. Boas, Das älteste Catozitat. The verse, the second hexameter of the distich 2, 22, is quoted in an *epistola Vindiciani comitis archiatrorum ad Valentinianum imperatorem* (p. 24, line 21 Niedermann). It is thus quoted in Hauthal's edition of Cato (1869, p. xxiii f.): *Quod cum pati coepisset infirmus, flens et gemens illud Catonis saepe dicebat: ʻcorporis auxilium medico committe fideli,ʼ ego autem perito restiti.* H. did not consult Vindicianus but took the quotation from Daum's edition (Cygneae 1672). Thus H. thought V. was trying to emend the verse of Cato and proposed *restitui* for *restiti.* What is actually found in V. is: . . . *fideli,ʼ ego autem dico et perito,* and *restiti* is the first word of the following sentence. The error was due to Scaliger in the first place. So far as the Cato passage is concerned *auxilium* is correct, but V. undoubtedly wrote *exigua,* and this reading should be retained by the editors in this letter. The meaning of the phrase, *corporis exigua,* is ʻdiseases of the body.ʼ An elaborate history of the reason for these two corrupt readings follows.

Pp. 142-155. Oskar Viedebantt, Warum hat Seneca die Apokolokyntosis geschrieben? Seneca wrote the Apocolocyntosis not because of personal resentment (as Bücheler and Weinreich), but from motives of political expediency. Nero's reign is to be a new golden succession; it is to be different. Therefore the former ruler has to be dealt with severely. The work was not written in secret agreement with Agrippina (as Kurfess). However, Seneca spares her as much as possible so as not to arouse her resentment. Her power was not to be underrated.

Pp. 156-183. Richard Holland, Battos. Discussion of the Battus episode from the story of Hermes' theft of Apollo's cattle together with a comparison of the versions of the story in Antoninus Liberalis (fr. 23) and Ovid (Met. 2, 680-707). Antoninus probably followed Nicander more closely than the other authors who had previously told the story of Battus [Hesiod (Eoeae), Didymarchus, Antigonus of Carystus, and Apollonius of Rhodes]. Discussion of different versions of the Hermes story as a whole. The addition of the Battus episode may have come from Cyrene. It is evidently connected with Arcadia and with τὰς λεγομένας Βάττου σκοπιάς of Arcadia. There was a pre-Dorian connection between Cyrene and Arcadia (Malten, *Kyrene* pp. 134 ff.) and in later times as well. The oecist of Cyrene was probably called Battus. In Hesych. s. v. is found: Βάττου σκοπιά· χωρίον Λιβύης, ἀπὸ Βάττου. Possibly a strikingly formed rock near Cyrene gave to Arcadians familiar with it the idea of calling a similar formation in their own country by the same name.

Pp. 184-202. Wilhelm Bannier, Zu den Beschlüssen JG I² 91/92. The discussion for the most part deals with the interpretation of the decrees, but several restorations are attempted. The decree on the reverse is not a continuation of that on the front, but (as Beloch) between the two there must have been passed a third. The first decree is of the year Ol. 85² or 87² and the later date is the more probable. The decree on the reverse was composed about Ol. 89, possibly as early as the end of Ol. 87 or the beginning of Ol. 88. The assumed third decree was passed in Ol. 87². B. sees in the Callias who proposed the second decree the son of Ἱππόν]ικος [Körte, Hermes 45 (1901), 626] proposer of the first.

Pp. 203-214. Adolf Busse, Der Wortsinn von λόγος bei Heraklit. Mainly a discussion of fr. 1. In H. λόγος is either: (1) 'discourse' with its various shades of meaning ('discussion,' 'doctrine,' 'theory,' argumentation,' etc.) or (2) 'process of reasoning,' 'law of reasoning,' 'cosmic law,' etc. In the fragments that are unaffected by Stoic additions it never means 'Vernunft' or 'Weltvernunft.'

Pp. 215-222. Hans Oppermann, Plotin-Handschriften. 1. Codex Darmstadiensis (D). History of previous editions of P. Description of the MS. D. is an early copy of A, and was made before Ficinus inserted his conjectures. D. is of the period 1470-1492.

Pp. 223-229. Paul Keseling, Justins 'Dialog gegen Trypho' und Platons 'Protagoras.' Justin Martyr was thoroughly familiar with the thought of the *Protagoras,* probably from the original, possibly from a florilegium or a compendium. K.

arranges the related ₀passages from the two works in parallel columns.

Pp. 230-231. Wilhelm Uhde†, Zu Plutarchs Moralia. Ten emendations.

Pp. 232-234. Carolus Mras, De Culice Vergilii. 1. Vv. 198-200 should be read and punctuated: *et quod erat tardo somni languore remoto | nescius—aspiciens timor obcaecaverat artus—| hoc minus e. q. s.* 2. In v. 197 *cristam* is correct not *cristae.* 3. Vv. 243-246 are to be read: *quid? Saxum procul adverso qui monte revolvit, | contempsisse dolor quem numina vincit acerbans, | otia quaerentem frustra. Simul ite, puellae, | ite e. q. s.* 4. In vv. 363 f. *devotum bellis = deditum bellis* is warranted by Phaedrus, Seneca, Suetonius, and Lucan. There is no reason for disregarding the statement of Donatus that Vergil wrote the *Culex* when he was sixteen.

Pp. 235-237. Fridericus Marx, Vetus Italia in Italia Nova. A comparison of Lucilius' journey to Sicily with that of the painter Philipp Hackert in the year 1777. Also a comparison of the portents at the death of ' *Lupum malum iudicem* ' (1, 37) with those at the death of the popes Adeodatus and Sixtus V.

Pp. 238-240. Miszellen. 1. Th. Birt, Über *vas argenteis* und Verwandtes. A reply to A. Klotz, pp. 98 ff. 2. Th. Birt, Nachtrag zu Catull c. 17 (Oben S. 115 f.). 3. Alfred Klotz, Berichtigung zu S. 102.

Pp. 241-265. Anton Elter†, Das Altertum und die Entdeckung Amerikas. A history of Greek geographical theories and discoveries and of their transmission to Columbus and his contemporaries.

Pp. 266-286. Richard Hennig, Neue Erkenntnisse zur Geographie Homers. Homer's geography is to be taken seriously. The home of the Cimmerians (Od. 11, 13-19) was in the southwestern part of Britain. The climate answers Homer's description, and the original inhabitants of Wales and Cornwall who came over to Brittany were called Cymry. Near the land of the Cimmerians was the entrance to the lower world. Thus in Od. 24, 1-14 the ' arm of the sea ' is possibly the English Channel, and the ' White Rock,' the chalk cliffs of the Channel. Dörpfeld's theory that Phaeacia is Corfu is ridiculous, if he continues to maintain that Ithaca is Leucas. From the peaks of the one island those of the other are visible. Dörpfeld locates Ogygia at Cape Santa Maria di Leuca, the southeastern point of Italy. If the Phaeacians lived in Corfu, they would have had to steer for this cape on practically every voyage they made. And yet Odysseus remained there seven years without seeing a ship! To whom were old the Phoenicians, those famous mariners, said to

they knew neither Ogygia, the first land to the west, nor Ithaca, the first land to the south? On the contrary, Homer's picture of Phaeacia is that of a land situated in the far west; it was bordered by an endlessly wide sea; it was eighteen days (about 1200 kilometers) to the northeast of the far-away island, Ogygia. The city of the Phaeacians was visible from the sea and on a beautiful stream flowing into the ocean; there was a perceptible , tide (not true of the coasts of the Mediterranean). The Phaeacians knew above all other men how to pilot 'swift ships'; they were rich in trade and in metals. The city of Tartessus answers all of these requirements. We know (cf. Schulten, 'Tartessos'-Buch, Hamburg, 1922) that in Homer's day it was the greatest commercial city in the world. Gades was probably founded to take advantage of the trade of Tartessus. It was the Biblical Tarschisch. The word 'Scheria' is probably related to the Phoenician schchr = σχρ = 'trade.' The description of the coast of Phaeacia in the Odyssey corresponds to that of the coast of Andalusia, and the 'broad-flowing' river is the Guadalquivir, which carried to the Phaeacians their wealth of metals. Ogygia would then be Madeira (as Breusing), or more probably one of the western Canaries. Homer undoubtedly knew of Tartessus through the Phoenicians.

Pp. 287-290. C. Fries, Homerica II. 1. Note on Od. 4, 125 ff. 2: The second half of the Odyssey must be distinguished from the first half. It is later. It is not court poetry but a poem of the wrath of the people, a protest against autocracy.

Pp. 291-325. Leo Weber, Pausanias' Beschreibung des Kerameikos-Friedhofes (I 29). In sec. 4 μνῆμα is not to be emended to μνήματα (as C. F. Hermann), but signifies the whole enclosure of the military memorial cemetery. In sec. 4 πρῶτοι δὲ ἐτάφησαν, said of those who fell at Drabescus (464 B. C.), is to be interpreted chronologically and not topographically. Of course this is an error on the part of P. There were at least two graves of an earlier date: (1) that of those who fell at the ' Nine Ways ' in 475 B. C. (Schol. Aeschin. 2, 31); (2) that of those who perished in the Chersonesus and in Thasos in 466/5 B. C. (JG 1, 432). The first of these may have been a cenotaph. Discussion of the location of the various graves and monuments. Nothing definite can be ascertained owing to P's style (oratio variata). P. undoubtedly visited the Ceramicus, but he need not have done so to describe it as he does. He had before him a 'periegetic' work which (or its authority) must have come from a period before 200 B. C., at which date the burial place was laid waste by Philip V.

Pp. 326-340. E. Bickel, Der Sirius bei Manilius. Text, translation, and emendations of Manilius 1, 396-411.

Pp. 341-352. Mauriz Schuster, Kritische und erklärende Beiträge zu Martial. Discussion of ten passages mainly in the light of the new edition of Heraeus (Leipzig, 1925).

Pp. 353-368. Ernst Maass, Psaphon und Sappho. I. A vast collection of lexicographical and etymological material. From emended glosses of Hesychius: ψᾱφα]λίθοι, ψῆφοι; ψήφων]φρον-τίζων, ψηφολογιστής; and others M. argues that Ψαπφώ is an affectionate (due to the doubling) form of Ψαφώ, the feminine of Ψάφων, and means ' Rechnerin.' II. Psaphon is the name of a supposedly Libyan god (Max. Tyr. 29, 4, p. 344 Hobein). According to the legend, he was originally a mortal, but caught birds, taught them to sing ' a great god is Psaphon,' and was deified by the Libyans. This Ψάφων probably got his name from ψᾶφοι, or from a region covered with stones and called τὰ ψᾶφα. The original scene of the legend was probably the stony waste of La Crau in the delta of the Rhone. La Crau (ἡ κραυρὰ γῆ), the *Arabia Petraea* of Gaul, is called the Gallic Libya by Avienus (689 ff.), and Pliny (3, 33) applies the adjective ' *Libyca* ' to two of the mouths of the Rhone. Aeschylus (fr. 189) says that before the battle of the giants with Hercules (or Zeus) La Crau was not a stony land. Therefore, Ψάφων is the giant of La Crau.

Pp. 369-392. Otmar Schissel, Die rhetorische Kunstlehre des Rufus von Perinth. The τέχνη ῥητορική attributed to Rufus of Perinthus (C. Hammer Rhet. Gr. 1, 2, 399-407) has been un-justly censured according to S. To vindicate the work he makes a very careful analysis of its βραχύτης καὶ συντομία. The author is probably Rufus of Perinthus.

Pp. 393-421. Erik Peterson, Engel- und Dämonennamen. Nomina barbara. Discussion of some hundred and twenty-eight names.

Pp. 422-446. Wilhelm Ensslin, Ein Prozessvergleich unter Klerikern vom Jahre 481. (Zu Papyrus Princeton 55). This papyrus was published by Henry B. Dewing in T. P. A. P. A. 53 (1922), 113-127. E. supplements the treatment of D. Text, notes, and emendations.

Pp. 447-448. Miszelle. E. Schwyzer, Zu Kallimachos (Epigr. 41 u. 44) und zu Lykophron (vs. 1391). In Callimachus 41 in the third hexameter read: οὐκὶ συνεῖφ' Ἥρων. In Callimachus 44 for Bentley's σιγέρπης read: ὁ σιγάρνης or ὁ σιγαρνής == ὃς σῖγα ἄρνυται. In Lycophron 1391 instead of Ληκτηρίαι read Ληκητρίαι. Ληκήτρια is an Ionized feminine from Λακητήρ, the southwestern point of Cos.

Pp. 419-452. Register.   ROBERT PARVIN STRICKLER.

GLOTTA, XVII (1928), 1-2.

Pp. 1-46. Johann Sofer, Die Vulgarismen in den Etymologiae des Isidorus von Sevilla, investigates Isidorus' statements on vulgar expressions, characterized by him with vulgo or the like: 7 rustic expressions, among them semen 'spelt'; 7 botanical; 18 zoological, including cattus, which Sofer thinks to be not Celtic, but African in origin; 7 religious and mythological; 6 names of clothing, including camisia; 6 names of weapons; 17 miscellaneous.

Pp. 46-56. Paul Kretschmer, Das mit -b- gebildete lateinische Futurum und Imperfectum, argues for a periphrastic form of which the first element is a participle; the -ns- in *paransfō was lost by analogy to the older sigmatic future *parāsō, formed like faxo and Oscan-Umbrian futures. Conj. III did not need such a new future, as it had -ā- and -ē- subjunctives; Conj. IV got forms in -ībō by analogy of -ābō -ēbō, for the phonetically regular -iēbō. The imperfect was similarly formed; that of Conj. III is by analogy to Conj. II. Or the imperfect with -b- is analogical to the future; the reverse analogy is less likely. The Slavic imperfect in -achŭ is similarly made of a nom. ptc. with jachŭ from *ēsa, I. E. perfect of es-.

Forms of the type calefacio, separable in early Latin, have as prior element an infinitive which has dropped the useless -re; facio with inf. is found Plaut. Ep. 411 f., Enn. Ann. 493 M.

Pp. 56-66. Hjalmar Frisk, Partizipium und Verbum finitum im Spätgriechischen, argues that the participle as substitute for a finite verb, both in New Test. and in the papyri, is only apparent, and may be explained otherwise—anacoluthon, logical equivalence to another grammatical category, unskilful striving for higher style, etc.

Pp. 66-71. W. Beschewliew, Mittelgriechisches, gives phonological, syntactical, and lexical notes on the old Bulgarian inscriptions in Greek, found in northern Bulgaria, which date mostly from the time of Khan Omurtag, 814-831 A. D.

Pp. 71-75. Th. Birt, Noch einmal das paparium bei Seneca, objects to the interpretation of Immisch, Gl. XV 151, since a paederastic allusion is not in place, and considers the word to be papparium, formed from pa(p)pare 'eat,' after cibarium.

Pp. 75-81. A. Musić, Lat. *nī* and *nisi*, argues that ni is originally a comparative particle not primarily negative, cf. similar comparative particles in Slavic; and that this explains the postposition of si in ni-si, and why ni and nisi have the same meaning, as well as the use of nisi 'except' in comparisons. He thinks that I. E. *nei is of two origins: (1) loc. of pro-

nominal stem no-, originally demonstrative 'thus,' cf. Greek νή ναί, Latin nē nae 'verily'; (2) neg. *ne + concessive-hypothetical *ei; and that in the concessive-hypothetical meanings the comparative and the negative meanings fell together.

Pp. 81-104. Hans Krahe, Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu den messapischen Inschriften. Mess. consonant + i gave doubled consonant; so dentals t d s n r l and š z, but not labials or gutturals. This i was consonantal, since the vocalic i in -tis did not cause the change. Ti gave not tt but tθ, which was latinized either tt or ss; and for this θ the probable value is voiceless th as in English; similarly, some alteration in sound is to be assumed in the other geminates of this origin. The character transliterated as z is the voiced counterpart of š, as is shown by dazes daš-ta. Stems in postconsonantal io have nom. -es, gen. -ihi; in postvocalic io have nom. -hias, gen. -hiaihi, in which the prior -hi- is graphic for consonantal i. Venetic shows a similar use of -hi-.

Another type shows Mess. nom. -as, gen. -aos or -os, and nom. -es, gen. eos. I. E. eu, which remained in Illyrian, became ou and then au in Mess., and with contraction o, graphic for au and u respectively. Sometimes however ao becomes not o but a; cf. a similar development in Etr. raufi rafi rufi.

There are a few feminine names, ā stems, with nom. -a, gen. -as, dat. loc. -a. Some of these end in -nnoa and similar groups, showing a doubling of the consonant before o, graphic for u or ṷ; but the o is kept in the script of the resultant form, unlike the disappearance of i in nn from ni, etc.

Pp. 104-106. Albrecht von Blumenthal, Messapisches, identifies the second name in 'Ακμονίδας, Δικᾶς in Iamblichus' list of Pythagoreans, with variant Σίκας, as miswritten for ΣΑΙΚΑΣ, the Greek equivalent of a Mess. name saihikas C. I. M. 7. The gen. verrinihi C. I. M. 54 is an -inios derivative of *verres from *verios; which may be the same name as that of Verres, Cicero's enemy, and may account for the aberrant form of the gentile name.

Pp. 106-113. Erich Stolte, Zur faliskischen Ceresinschrift, reads in part

> eqo urnel[a ex] tela fita idu res :
> arcentelom hut × lom : pe : parai [:] douiad

and interprets, in Latin: ego, urnula ex terra facta (fita). indu res, *argentulum.?. peperi; det; and in German: Ich, die kleine aus Erde entstandene (gewordene) Urne, habe, in (meinem) Innern Besitz (Habe, res), gegossenes? giessbares? Silber hervorgebracht (erzeugt); möge sie (Ceres) spenden.

For the rest, see G. Herbig, I. F. XXXII 71-87, Gl. XII 233. The urn was put in the tomb and contained silver and perhaps other things as a gift to Ceres as death-goddess. The making from earth and the use of the verb peparai show that the whole is a magic formula.

Pp. 113-117. Erich Stolte, Faliskische Bibliographie.

Pp. 117-134. Alfons Nehring, Parerga zur lateinischen Wortforschung, dèrives Latin baro, bardus, bargus, barginna, barcala all from one Etruscan word-family. He sees in oclopeta (Petron. 35) a word in -pecta, taken with popular remodeling from a Greek word in -πήκτης, the name of an unknown animal; oclopecta would mean 'with fixed, staring eyes' (though the Greek original did not mean 'eyes'), and was changed to -peta because Sagittarius, on whose figure the oclopeta was placed, oculo petit.

Pp. 134-137. Josef Zingerle, 'Αντάρα, derives the word, which means 'contest, uproar,' from the modern pronunciation of ἀνταύρα, found as name of a demon of uproar in an inscription of Carnuntum (Röm. Limes in Öster. XVI 57 ff.).

Pp. 137-142. Dr. Clara M. S. Müller, Zweite Person Singularis medii-passivi bei Plautus, examines the 205 instances of -re and 25 of -ris (56 and 11 respectively required by meter), and finds that where meter is indifferent the ending -ris occurs almost exclusively in the present indic. (11, with 3 in pres. subj.), where confusion with the imperative would enter: which decides the case in favor of the analogical origin of -ris as a substitute for original -re.

Pp. 142-143. Eduard Hermann, Lateinisch socerio, shows that socerio (C. I. L. 3.5622, 11977, 5.8273) always means 'wife's brother,' since in 5.8273 gener may mean 'sister's husband,' as in Nep. Paus. 1. 2, Just. 18. 4. 8. In 3.5622 Mommsen misinterpreted the relationships: Proba is wife of Lupus and sister of Probinus.

Pp. 143-144. W. Prellwitz, Gortyn. ἐνκοιωτά Hinterlegung, κίστη; lateinisch cūra, unites these words under a root keis-, compounded of kei- 'liegen' and se- 'lassen' (ἵημι, sero).

Pp. 144-147. W. Prellwitz, Participia praesentis activi in der Zusammensetzung, in support of his etymology of ἐθελοντῆρας (Gl. XVI 156), adduces participles with weak-grade suffix as first element in Sanskrit (jīvad-bhāga-, etc.), in Avestan (frādaṭ-vīra-, etc.), and in Latin Terent-ius as derivative of a shortened compound name; in Greek ϝεκατ 'wollend' in ἑκάεργος, ἑκατ-η-βόλος, and other similar words, cf. Brugmann I. F. XVII

1 ff.; and in Locr. ἐπιατές 'in the following year,' which he analyzes *ἐπιατ-ϝετες ϣith haplology, ἐπιατ being the zero grade for ἐπιοντ-.

Pp. 148-151. Paul Kretschmer, Scandinavia, gives the manuscript authority for Scadinavia, Scandinavia, and the short form Scandia, and remarks that though Scadinavia has been generally accepted as the original form since Müllenhoff D. A. II, 357 ff., it cannot be settled whether -n- was gained by assimilation in Scandinavia or lost by dissimilation in Scadinavia.

Pp. 151-152. Paul Kretschmer, Zu "Brot und Wein im Neugriechischen," gives a postscript to his article, Gl. XV 60 ff., on communion practices in various oriental Christian churches.

Pp. 152-158. Albrecht von Blumenthal, Messapisches, studies more Mess. names in Iamblichus' list of Pythagoreans. Nastas has a grecized ending, cf. Nasta on a Herculanean insc. I. R. N. 2386; all Mess. names in -ta are masc., and are not infrequently written with a grecizing -s. Ὄκκελος καὶ Ὄκκιλος ἀδελφοί should be read Ὄκκελ ὃς καὶ Ὄκκιλος with excision of ἀδελφοί, cf. the Oscan cognomen Aukíl (borrowed before ao became o in Mess.); the same faulty doublet, corrupted, is found again in connection with his sister Βυνδακού, a Messapian name Bundacū from -cō. Θεανὼ γυνὴ τοῦ Μεταποντίνου Βροτίνου also bears a name of Illyrian-Messapian formation.

Pp. 158-160. Hans Krahe, Χάονες, Χαῦνοι—Χῶνες, definitively equates the Epirot Χάονες and the Lucanian Χῶνες, noting that according to Cramer, Anecd. Oxon. II 131 f., Epirus was called also Χωνία, and adds other data.

P. 160. W. Kroll, Blattfüllsel: *exoletus*, notes that exolescere 'aus der Mode kommen,' from ex + solere, first appears in Mon. Anc. 2. 8, and then begins to replace obsolescere; and that an older exolescere 'auswachsen, verdorren,' to alere, has a botanical meaning (Colum. 2. 17. 3, etc., but Pl. Bac. 1135 exoluere from ex-solvere), with a participle exoletus 'grown to maturity' (Plaut. fr. 106), which acquired the special meaning of 'Lustknabe.'

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REVIEWS •

Latin Grammar by HERBERT CHARLES ELMER. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928. Pp. iv + 327.

This book, though intended primarily for students in schools and colleges, deserves attention by reason both of the repute of its author and the reason for its production. Professor ELMER, who has recently retired after a long and honorable service at Cornell University, has been well known for his interest in Latin Syntax, and has made substantial contributions to the literature of this subject. He has also been much interested in the teaching of Latin, and his long association with students has led him to the conclusion that many of the difficulties that have beset the student of Latin have arisen from a faulty presentation of the phenomena of the language in the textbooks in general use. ' The present book,' he states in the Preface, ' aims to eliminate altogether many of these difficulties, to simplify and clarify many others, and to correct the numerous and serious violations of fundamental principles of pedagogy,' for ' we seem to have overlooked the countless things that are still wrong in our Latin Grammars, though it is these grammars that have really been the chief offenders.'

This charge, allowing for a certain exuberance of expression, is in the main just. Much in the organization and description of the phenomena of the Latin language, has suffered in our grammars from the tradition of development, and this weakness is especially apparent in the customary handling of syntax, which has been influenced largely by two things, first, the attempt to formulate the Latin usage in terms of the vernacular, and second, the attempt to develop a theory of origins of usage, and to organize the actual phenomena of the language in terms of this theory. Professor ELMER shows greater independence than his predecessors, though he finds it difficult to escape altogether the burden of tradition, especially in the syntax of the subordinate sentence.

In appearance the book is very attractive. The typography is open and the pages well leaded, without any sign of crowding. There is a minimum of the notes and remarks which are usually found in other grammars under almost every heading, but the impression thus produced is marred by a propensity which the author shows for footnotes in small type, which are found in great numbers in the part devoted to syntax, but are by no means absent from the part given up to morphology. These footnotes serve various purposes. They supplement and explain the statements in the text: they give hints as to the principle supposed

to underlie a particular usage, and they supply references to other investigations of Professor ELMER in which his method of presentation is explained and justified.

The statements of usage are all couched in the simplest language, sometimes in language so simple as to be obscure, while again they give an appearance of simplicity which the facts hardly warrant. Thus statements in the syntax like ' The Dative (is used) with adjectives similar in meaning to those followed by *to* or *for* in English ' are not adequate until they are further explained by details given either in the text or in footnotes. As rules such statements are of little value. In the morphology the striving after simplicity leads to omissions of references to stems in the paradigms of the declensions, and to treatment by endings only. This is particularly evident in the case of the third declension, where a mere list of paradigms is given, in which for the -is of the genitive, as it appears in vocabulary or dictionary, are substituted the other case-endings of the third declension. The more scientific treatment according to stems is relegated to Appendix B. So in the matter of the gender of the third declension, we are treated to a table of endings with the disquieting statement that in this declension the gender of individual words ' must commonly be learned outright.' All mnemonic devices seem to be strictly taboo, although here, if anywhere, such assistance would be a boon to the student. In this connection it may be noted that we find *marium* given in the paradigm of *mare* as the genitive plural with a footnote: ' the gen. and dat. plural rarely (if ever) occur.' But Neue gives the genitive as *marum* after Priscian's citation from Naevius, against Martianus Capella, claiming *marium* for *mas*.

Verb paradigms are assembled according to the stems of the present, perfect, and perfect participle (or supine), while Appendix C relates these to the verb stems in -a, -e, and so forth. It is interesting and gratifying to observe that the author gives the supine as the fourth principal part. There seems to be no real justification for using the perfect passive participle, as is the common practice in our text-books, even when we have no evidence for the occurrence of any particular supine. Strangely enough Professor ELMER clings to the usual error of giving the form of the perfect passive infinitive and similar forms with the nominative of the participle, although Gildersleeve drew attention more than sixty years ago to the impossibility of *amatus esse*, for example, *in a paradigm,* and the author intimates the truth later in section 305, 1, a.

It is in the matter that the author makes his most vigorous attack upon the current method of presentation. To remedy the various faults that he sees, he aims in general to present the syntax of Latin from the point of view of English, that is, to

answer the question: How does the Latin express such and such an English usage. Such a system can not be carried out absolutely, of course, for English usage is most meager in categorical distinctions, as compared with the Latin, hence the treatment in this book shows a high degree of inconsistency, but there is often a positive gain in simplicity. The older system was also lacking in consistency and on the whole Professor ELMER's treatment is a considerable advance upon that of his predecessors, though often at the expense, as it seems to me, of accuracy of statement. Thus we find " the uses of the genitive correspond rather closely to the English use of the preposition ' of '." Hence he divides into Possessive, Subjective, Objective, Appositional, Descriptive, Partitive, etc., though a footnote excepts Penalty, Specification and Separation. In support of the rule, he translates regularly but not always the examples into some expression including ' of.' This involves in many cases a faulty translation, and ignores the origin of the English ' of,' an origin that is responsible for many uses which could under no circumstances be rendered by a genitive in Latin.

In general, throughout the syntax little indication is given of the extent of applicability of the various categories, a rare usage being given equal prominence, as far as appearance goes, with one that appears on every Latin page. In the examples cited, no references are given, and prose and poetry, classical and Silver Latin examples are mixed with little or no discrimination. Sometimes the range of a usage is indicated in a footnote as for example in the case of the Accusative of Specification, but otherwise a student would naturally think that the accusative of specification was as natural to a Roman as the ablative of specification. As an example of over-simplicity of statement, the treatment of the Ablative of Cause is conspicuous. No indication whatever is given of the narrow range of usage, and the examples give the impression that exsilui gaudio and Iovis iussu venio are similar and both equally ablatives of cause. Doubtless the student for whom Professor ELMER is working would readily, after the analogy of Cicero's exsilui gaudio (in his letters, and probably a poetical reminiscence) say gaudio exsilire non potui and wonder when he found it wrong.

The customary rule of the Dative after verbs meaning to benefit or injure, please or displease, command or obey, serve or resist, etc., is particularly objectionable to Professor ELMER. He maintains that it is inexact, confusing and altogether unworkable, all of which is eminently true. Instead of this he gives a list of some twenty-four verbs that are followed by the Dative. A footnote adds others that occur occasionally in poetry or in prose. Whether this change is an improvement may be doubted, but it is certainly more definite.

The rule for the Dative with prepositional compounds reads thus: ' The Dative is often used with verbs compounded with any preposition (except *per, praeter, trans*) or with the prefix *re-*, when these add prepositional force to the simple verbs.' This vague definition is explained, but not very clearly, in a footnote. I can not help wondering why the Roman should have used a compound verb at all, unless the preposition added prepositional force to the simple verb, and the fact that that prepositional force has weakened, does not in any way affect the other fact that the dative was used after the compound and not after the simple verb. Another footnote explains the inclusion of *re-* as due to the fact that in *resisto, repugno, rependo,* etc. the *re-* has the force of *ob.* This is certainly wrong. In the case of the first two verbs cited the difference between *ob-* and *re-* is clear, the *ob* indicates an active or positive attitude on the part of the subject, while the *re-* indicates a passive or negative attitude. As a matter of fact instead of *ob* and *re-* being equivalents they are opposites. In the case of *rependo,* of which as an example is cited fatis fata rependens (which comes from Vergil, Aeneid I. 239), *fatis* is not in the dative but in the ablative case.

The author divides the uses of the subjunctive into three categories, Volitive, Optative, Would-should (the so-called ' Potential ') subjunctives. This follows the conclusions arrived at years ago in the author's ' Studies in Latin Moods and Tenses ' (Cornell Studies, VI). He still clings to the notion that ' potential ' means ' possible,' in spite of Gildersleeve's sharp criticism (A. J. P. XIX. 231, see also rejoinder in XIX. 349), and regards the ordinary ' potential ' uses as examples of conditional sentences with suppressed protasis. Thus, malim domi manere is translated ' I should prefer to remain at home (if I were to express a preference, or if certain contingencies should arise) : dicat fortasse aliquis, ' perhaps some one would say ' (if he should attempt to answer me).' Now there was a time when the explanation by ellipsis was a favorite syntactical method. We have happily gotten away from that, and it seems undeniable that except in rare instances ellipsis is never to be assumed unless a definite word or words can be supplied. The fact that the ' potential ' subjunctive has the same form as an apodosis means no more than the fact that the present indicative often has the same form as an apodosis. The conditional sentence results from the combination of two sentences already in existence, not the reverse, and we must look for the explanation of the ' potential ' outside, not inside of the conditional complex. Professor Elmer finds this explanation in a third variety of the subjunctive. But as it can be readily deduced from the optative subjunctive, all the difficulties of an independent origin are unnecessary. The ' potential ' subjunctive is certainly the founda-

tion of the Result subjunctive and of the Characteristic subjunctive, and has many other uses. But this all depends upon realizing that ' potential ' is not equivalent to ' possible.' The neglect of this distinction mars the treatment of Characterizing clauses in this book. The author should also have remembered that characterization is not necessarily definition, that a man's character gives rise to certain tendencies to activity, but not necessarily to the acts themselves, and that it is precisely this tendency that should, if possible, be brought out in the translation. Professor ELMER regularly and often wrongly translates his characteristic clauses as statements of fact, though he tries to make the difference between a characteristic clause and a relative clause of fact clear by examples. Thus he says that a characteristic relative clause, ' must be used *primarily* for the express purpose of characterizing the antecedent, . . . as in the following *reperta sunt quae rem publicam exederent, there were discovered things that were sapping the state.* If the indicative *exedebant* were used, the sentence would mean *the things that were sapping the state were discovered,* where the relative clause is used primarily to tell *what* things were discovered (though it incidentally tells *what sort of things*).' Now the difference between the two translations is only the omission in one of *the* before *things*: they are practically equivalent: neither is characteristic. Theoretically, I suppose, the sentence quoted might have been written, but it would have meant: there were discovered things that were calculated to destroy the state. As a matter of fact the passage is garbled. Tacitus actually wrote (Ann. II. 27): tum primum reperta sunt quae per tot annos rem publicam exedere which is just what he ought to have written. Non tu is eras qui nescires, another example, is translated *you were not a person who did not know,* whereas the actual meaning is: you were not the person to be ignorant, etc. Of course drift and habit work here, as they work elsewhere, to level or flatten all distinctions, but in the classical period at least the large distinctions are clear. It is a dangerous thing to build conclusions on translations, which Professor Elmer seems to have done here, for, if they can be impeached, the conclusions fall.

I hope that it will be evident from these criticisms that this book is one to be carefully studied by future grammarians or writers of school textbooks. It represents an honest endeavor to rid our manuals of many useless accretions, and to clarify our grammatical expression. I could and do dissent from many other statements in the book, as doubtless many other critics will. This Professor Elmer doubtless anticipated, and it does not detract from the value of this genuine contribution to the treatment of Latin Grammar.

I have noticed a few misprints, and a considerable number of slips in quantity, but these will doubtless be corrected in the next impression.

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Iktus und Akzent im Lateinischen Sprechvers. VON EDUARD FRAENKEL. Mit einem Beitrag von Andreas Thierfelder. Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, Berlin, 1928. viii + 423 pp. 25 marks.

It is familiar doctrine that the Roman dramatists exhibit a large proportion of harmony between accent and ictus, and, since the work done by Skutsch and Lindsay, there can be no doubt that such harmony existed in many passages where a mechanical application of the three-syllable law of accent would yield clash; for Latin words often shifted their accent in the phrase. Fraenkel undertakes to carry this line of reasoning to its logical conclusion (p. 342):

"Im altlateinischen Sprechverse ist der Iktus an den Wortakzent gebunden. Fällt er auf eine andere Silbe als diejenige, die innerhalb des isolierten Wortes den Hauptton tragen würde, so rührt diese Verschiebung nicht von einer Verletzung des Sprachakzents her, sondern es wirken dabei Momente mit, die in der lebendigen Sprache den Akzent modifizieren können, nämlich syntaktische Zusammenhänge, wozu ausser den Bindungen zwischen den einzelnen Gliedern auch das Vorliegen einer Pausastellung gehört, sowie die verschiedenen Möglichkeiten eines okkasionell auf einen Satzteil gelegten Nachdrucks. Innerhalb dieser Kategorien gibt es für die Dichter die Freiheit der Auswahl. Ikten einzuführen, die kein Korrelat in Akzentverhältnissen der Sprache haben, sind sie nicht in der Lage."

He reaches this conclusion by an examination of all the available material; which, he finds, falls under a few clearly marked categories, several of which have long been recognized as justifying an irregular accent.

(1) The grammarians tell us that *illic, istic, illuc, istuc, etc.* were accented on the ultima. Early Latin verse confirms the statement and adds a number of words to the list; including the case-forms of *ille* and *iste,* and such adverbs and conjunctions as *hodie, igitur, immo, quando.*

(2) We have long known that many phrases had their own accentuation; but Fraenkel finds much more of this sort of thing than has hitherto been recognized. He sees a reflection of the usual accentuation not only where the ictus of the phrase falls in with the three-syllable law e. g. *filiús tuos, pauló prius, pauló*

post), but also where it does not (e. g. *in͵ meá navi, tuós servos, novám nuptam*). When such phrases are interrupted by a word or several words they often retain the same accentuation (e. g. *filiás* quaerit *suas, hominibús* sat erat *decem, sapít* scelesta *multum*), and this too Fraenkel ascribes to everyday usage. Furthermore, many words which stand between the two parts of interrupted phrases have ictus on the ultima (e. g. **studia** *eránt* **vostra, corpus** *publicát* volgo **suom**, nunc hinc **parasitum** in *Cariám* misi **meum**). Fraenkel holds that even this is a reflection of normal accentuation.

(3) Most striking is the tendency of the ictus to fall on the ultima of emphatic words, e. g.:

> Immo equidem *tunicís* consutis huc advenio, non dolis.
> *Nudó* detrahere vestimenta me iubes.
> *Vivóm* mi accersant Acheruntem mortui
> Cum puella *anúm* suscepisse inimicitias non pudet?

Fraenkel prints page after page of examples as clear as these.

(4) Final syllables are frequently accented just before a syntactic break, and that without regard to the importance of the break. Before a change of speakers we have: desponsam esse *audió*. Nisi tu nevis. Before a period: nunc *abís*. Hoccin placet? Before a comma: iam si opsignatas non *ferét,* dici hoc potest.

(5) Before any word or fixed phrase that fills the last two feet of an iambic close, an ictus on the ultima is allowable (e. g.: *abstulít* **periculo,** tibi *Iovém* **non credere,** *vendideró* **pretio suo,** *redierít* **meus particeps**). This has the appearance of a metrical phenomenon, but Fraenkel (pp. 347-350) is convinced that in ordinary speech final accent was to be heard before long words.

It will seem to most readers that it requires a good deal of manipulation—not to say violence—to bring all the huge material under these five categories; but it must be admitted that the attempt is surprisingly successful. It is easy to construct perfectly regular lines that could not be worked into the system. Indeed Fraenkel cites several such from Seneca's tragedies, and frequently points out easy modifications of Plautine lines, which, he says, would show impossible ictuses. His system is highly coherent, and, within the rather narrow range for which it was constructed, it works. That is a pragmatic argument of no small importance.

Besides, many of the accentuations posited are plausible in themselves or find support elsewhere. There is little doubt about many of the phrases which as a whole conform to the three-syllable law; e. g. *filió suo, mei patris, decém minas, operám dare*

cenám coqui, maximúm malum, illí seni, eó viro, istánc rem, omnís res, omnís laboŕes, omnís sapientis, etc. It is not difficult to accept also the theory that the prior members of such phrases might retain their accent if interrupted by another word (e. g. *erús* misit *meus, mei* nomen *patris*).

Fraenkel seems not to have noticed that such accentuations offer a peculiarly plausible explanation of the iambic shórtening of syllables which are usually thought to have been accented. I have tried [1] to explain these shortenings as due to analogy, and analogy doubtless played an important rôle in the matter. Such forms as *nesciŏ* and *tibíque* must be due to *sciŏ* and *tíbi*; but it is hard to believe that *eŏdem* is due to *éŏ* or *eŏrum* to *eŏrúmque*. Fraenkel's word-groups with a single main accent suggest that in *eŏdém die* (*And.* 885) we have the normal accentuation and the resultant shortening before our very eyes. No doubt there were similar phrases with *eŏrúm*, but I cannot cite one from the extant plays. The same principle applies, however, to phrases in which elision brings the long penult next to an accented syllable. *Eŏr(um) álter* (*Poen.* 61), *eŏr(um) ómnis* (*Stich.* 349), and *eŏr(um) únus* must represent ordinary speech quite exactly.

One other accentuation which Fraenkel is compelled to recognize is more plausible than he realizes. In early Latin a relative or interrogative pronoun or adverb very often stands after one or more words of its clause, and in such cases there is a tendency for the syllable before the relative to carry the ictus (e. g. *viám qui* nescit, *herí quos* emi, *fidém qui* facitis maxumi, *patrés ut* faciunt ceteri, *matér ubi* accepit, *unúm quom* noris, sed interim de *symbolís quid* actumst?). This position of the relative or interrogative is more common in Oscan and Umbrian than in Latin, and it is regular for the cognate Hittite *kuis*. When one remembers that Greek τις is enclitic in its indefinite use and that the relative-interrogative stem is connected with the enclitic *-que,* it becomes clear that Fraenkel has discovered in Plautus and Terence a very ancient accentual peculiarity.

Almost equally plausible, although not supported by extraneous evidence, is the conclusion that ictus on the ultima was normal in the first member of a pair of words connected by *-que*: e. g. *diés noctesque, aequí bonique, améns amansque, deós deasque, dolís astutiisque, vobís vostraeque matri.* In such cases the final accent on the first word of the pair amounted to notice that more was to follow.

Again, it is not difficult to believe that emphasis might be marked by a shift of accent, if one remembers French emphatic pronunciations such as *impóssible, misérable, párfaitement vrai.*

[1] *P. Terenti Afri Andria* 54.

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In other cases, however, Fraenkel assumes accentuations that are scarcely credible. It is hard to see hôw the Romans could have said *in meá navi, tuós servos,* or *novám nuptam.* Unless we are ready to throw away the three-syllable law entirely, only analogy could have induced such pronunciations; and it is incredible that *meás erus* could have induced *tuós servos* while *amávimus* failed to induce **amávistis,* or while *mílites* did not interfere with *militibus* even though it was reinforced by the identical accent of *victóres* and *victóribus.*

Still more difficult is the conclusion that final accent before a pause was normal. Fraenkel has made it even harder to accept by maintaining that there was not normally even a secondary accent upon the final syllable of any Latin words except *illúc,* etc. And yet this is an extremely important part of the general theory; it is made to account for many otherwise inexplicable ictuses in the interior of the line (even in positions where a pause has to be assumed *ad hoc*), and it is the only justification offered for the use of words of more than one syllable in the iambic close.

These improbable conclusions would have been avoided if it were not for three serious errors of method. (1) Fraenkel pays no attention to the difficulties of composition; he takes it for granted that the poets could, if they chose, write verses both quantitatively correct and with complete harmony of accent and ictus. A cardinal instance of this fault is the argument designed to show that cretic words did not have a secondary accent on the ultima (pp. 350 f.). Fraenkel urges that if such a secondary accent had existed, cretic words would have been employed in preference to iambic or spondiac words in many positions where that would have avoided conflict of accent and ictus. He does not realize that cretic words constitute only about seven per cent of a normal Latin vocabulary, and that the poets therefore had only about one such word available for every two verses. As is well known cretic words and longer words ending in a cretic were preferred to all other types for the iambic close, and the only possible reason is that they were the only ones that harmonized perfectly with the ictus in that position. Consequently there were very few indeed left for use at other points in the line.

The difficulties of composition also furnish an adequate explanation for the frequency of final ictus before a word which fills the last two feet. A line-end like *respóndeàt,* or *mastigiàs* was a favorite because it provided perfect harmony between accent and ictus in the last two feet. To be sure it required ictus on the final syllable of the preceding word, and that meant

clash in the fourth foot, unless a monosyllabic or cretic word could be placed there: but the advantage of harmony at the end of the line outweighed this inevitable disadvantage.

(2) More serious is Fraenkel's failure to treat the passages that oppose his deductions. I accept his inference that a postponed relative might put an accent on the final syllable of the previous word; but I feel somewhat uneasy about the matter, because I do not know what proportion of the Plautine and Terentian material favors the theory. The words preceding such relatives do not always have the ictus on the ultima, and it may be that the material cited by Fraenkel is a rather small proportion of the whole. He does not deceive the reader; he explicitly states (p. 343) that none of his assumed accentuations are carried through consistently in the texts, and that he does not hold that poets took no liberties with their speech. But the fact remains that without a statistical comparison of the positive and negative evidence, no man can say how strong Fraenkel's case is as a whole or in its several parts.

(3) Finally no account is taken of the force of analogy. Finding such ictuses as *multúm valete, in ultimá platea, infimúm ventrem,* he at once assumes that this was the accentuation of ordinary speech. It is much more likely that we have here an artificial extension of such accentuations as *multúm vale, in ultimá via,* and *infumúm pedem.* The important point is that the accent of a Latin word was not fixed in the same sense as that of an English or a German word. Everyone knows that *vírum* became *virúm* before *que* or *ve* or *dum,* and that nominative *víri* became genitive *virórum.* It is almost equally certain that many phrases were accented as single wholes (*multúm vale,* etc.). Hence the poets did but little violence to the language when they used *multúm* in similar phrases, which would not have had that accent in ordinary speech.

Consequently Fraenkel's book, laborious as it is, has not finished the task. Some of the conclusions are almost convincing, and others embody useful suggestions; but the whole matter requires to be placed upon a broader and more secure foundation.

In an appendix (pp. 357-395) one of Fraenkel's students applies the same method to proceleusmatic words with ictus like *facílius.* After a somewhat liberal use of the old device of allowing licenses in certain parts of the verse, he brings the remaining material into Fraenkel's categories.

The book is supplied by a *Testregister* (pp. 396-401) and a *Stellenregister* (pp. 402-425).

E. H. STURTEVANT.

Greek Rhetoric and Literary Criticism. By W. RHYS ROBERTS.
(Our Debt to Greece and Rome, edited by George Depue
Hadzsits and David Moore Robinson, No. 53.) New York,
Longmans, Green and Company, 1928. viii + 164 pp.

For years we have had hopes of an elaborate treatise on the
subject of this booklet by the author of it; no other British
scholar—probably no other living scholar—is so well-equipped
for the purpose by taste and training. ROBERTS' admirable
editions of Dionysius, ' Longinus,' and Demetrius, and his trans-
lation, by far the best in English, of Aristotle's *Rhetoric,* have
fitted him beyond any usual measure to write either the treatise
or this booklet. And we need not repine for having a booklet
rather than a large treatise; partly because our author has in
hand a companion-volume, for the same series, on Roman
Rhetoric and Literary Criticism; and partly because the booklet
we have gives us the quintessence of a long experience in literary
scholarship, in a fine perspective, and with great economy of
detail. The editors of the series are to be congratulated on
landing so excellent a fish; their catch so far has been uneven.

Instead of beginning *ab ovo,* or with Corax and Tisias, ROBERTS
at the outset takes the popular reader to the heart of the subject
in the *Gorgias* and *Phaedrus* of Plato, coming back to the Sicilian
origins of Rhetoric (p. 35) when he deals with the treatise of
Aristotle, Books 1 and 2. In discussing the Platonic dialogues
he makes allowance, but hardly enough, for the nature of the
literary type. And in view of *Epistle* 7, for instance, it is unsafe
to attribute to Plato himself any notion he holds up for scrutiny
in the dialogues, unless that notion frequently recurs, and is
always accepted as an unqualified truth; even then it is safer to
infer what Plato thought of literature from his own literary
practice than from what even Socrates adheres to in the dia-
logues. The dialogues discuss and illustrate the meaning of
general terms; that is a literary proceeding, and Platonic. The
Phaedrus takes up the meaning of Rhetoric, and is itself an
example of the best Rhetoric or Dialectic. The analysis of the
first two speeches on love in the *Phaedrus* is to me at least a
bit of evidence that (*pace* Roberts, p. 6) the like analysis and
criticism of rhetorical and other compositions later went on,
doubtless in a more workaday fashion, as a part of the studies
in the Academy. Again, after the Lysian speech of Phaedrus,
there are two set speeches, not one (p. 7), in the dialogue, the
second being, like the dialogue as a whole, a model of what a
literary composition ought to be; in a model the organic unity is
gained not by (p. 7) ' the compelling instinct of authorship '
alone, but by that in conjunction with a cool mathematical grasp

of the parts and the whole—Plato being a mathematician—and with such care and révision of details as Dionysius (see p. 12, and Note 17, p. 154) reports of Plato. Nor can we agree that (p. 14) 'literature, however great, is less than the many-sided life which it echoes,' save as a part is less than the whole—and 'echoes' is not the right word to express that relation. One recalls the well-known passage about life and books in Milton's *Areopagitica*—' as good almost kill a man as kill a good book '; nor is the underlying concept of the *Phaedrus* remote from a statement in the New Testament that Heaven and Earth shall pass away, but living words shall not pass away.

But how much good order there is; how much good information, how many memorable statements, with apt examples from authors of all ages, are packed into this readable booklet! It is never diffuse, always brief, always lucid. The remarks on Aristophanes as a critic are full of good sense and interest: ' His eye rests mainly on the great; to be repeatedly assailed by him may be regarded as an oblique compliment' (p. 17). But should not Agathon's play (p. 18) be called *Antheus* (as in Note 27, p. 153) rather than ' Flower'? Needless to say, the treatment of Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, and of its relation to Aristotle's views on Plato, is altogether illuminating. It is a question, however, if Aristotle was 49 years old (p. 30) precisely when he called that age the acme of the mind; as well assume that Plato wrote the *Republic* at the age of 50.

The *Rhetoric* is treated in two chapters; Book 3, in ROBERTS' chapter 3, leads up to Demetrius *On Style*. Chapter 4, the longest, is a discussion of Dionysius. Chapter 5 takes up ' Other Critics and Rhetoricians'; and here we wish that the plan of the series allowed an index as a supplement to the compact and vital Notes (pp. 153-61) and (in its first paragraph) the over-compact Bibliography (pp. 163-4). Chapter 6 deals with ' Longinus'; since it appeared, Roberts has published an article that should be read in conjunction, in the *Philological Quarterly* VII (1928), 209-19. Chapter 7 is entitled ' Influence'; the lines of influence from Sicily to Plato and Aristotle, and from these to 'Longinus,' have been noted by Roberts in his preceding chapters. This last brief chapter will be supplemented in the volume, already mentioned, that is to follow. With all my love of ' Longinus,' I am not prepared to admit that (chapter 7, p. 140) ' as a critic he is superior to his master [Plato] in that he frankly delights in literature as literature,' though he has an advantage over Plato in being able to compare him with writers of the Roman and Christian era. And we may hesitate to trace Chaucer's distinction of a ' heigh' style to ' Longinus.' There is something of ' Longinus' in Milton's distinction between the lofty, middle, and lowly styles, each appropriate to its subject;

Milton thinks of 'Longinus,' and illustrates his concept, in announcing that *Paradise Lost* shall move *tn* 'no middle' style as it soars above the Aonian Mount. But here we doubtless have a very old triple division of styles that in time became associated with Mediæval, perhaps Neoplatonic, notions of the upper, middle, and terrestrial layers of the atmosphere and ether; the obscure history of these notions, and of their welding, is a subject with which no one is better able to cope than Professor ROBERTS himself.

There are singularly few slips in his book. P. 24, l. 17, for 'possible' read 'a' or 'the possible'? P. 32, l. 8, for 'the every opening' read 'the very opening.' P. 34, l. 15, the word 'where' is unjustified. P. 48, l. 3, for 'taxis' read '*taxis.*' P. 62, 3 lines from the bottom, for ' "beauty' read ' "Beauty.' P. 65, 3 lines from the bottom, a colon is needed before the quotation. P. 74, l. 11, a hyphen should join 'well' and 'supported.' P. 92, l. 15, for ' "numeros" ' read '*numerus.*' P. 123, 2 lines from the bottom, 'well ordered' should be hyphened, and similarly p. 158, 9 lines from the bottom, 'Evelyn White.' In general, for Roberts' admirable style, I only suggest a more liberal use of commas (see, for example, pp. 64-7), and adversely remark in him a looser placing of adverbs (only too common in American writers) than is the custom with British classical scholars of his stamp.

Here, obviously, I have disparaged only trifles. The book is in almost every essential point to be commended, and is to be recommended to specialists as well as to the laity for whom ostensibly it is designed. My own slight contribution to the series runs the risk of diverting the immature reader from the *Poetics* of Aristotle, which it is meant to explain, and which is excluded from Roberts' survey. ROBERTS' book will inevitably lead such a reader to the ancient critics, persuaded that, in the *Rhetoric,* Aristotle (p. 35) 'writes a treatise which has never been superseded, and is never likely to be superseded,' and ready to believe of the epistle *On the Sublime* (p. 138) that 'No modern critic could formulate more precisely, in relation to the classics of all eras and all nations, the *quod semper, quod ubique* principle.'

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Sicconis Polentoni Scriptorum Illustrium Latinae Linguae Libri XVIII. Edited by B. L. ULLMAN. American Academy in Rome, 1928. iii + 525 pp.

Students of Renaissance Latin will be grateful to Professor B. L. ULLMAN for his editio princeps of the complete treatise

of Sicco Polenton, Scriptorum Illustrium Latinae Linguae Libri XVIII. This is based on an autograph MS, Ottob. lat. 1915, which the editor himself discovered in the Vatican some years ago.

Sicco Polenton was born about 1375 and died about 1447. He was a pupil of Giovanni da Ravenna. He lived at Padua nearly all his life, and was chancellor of the city about 1417-1430. His great work, on which he says he spent 25 years, seems to have been completed about 1437. It is apparently the first modern history of Roman literature. It is important in two ways: it helps to show what was known of classical Latin authors in the first half of the fifteenth century, and it often throws light on the text or text tradition of those authors.

As Professor ULLMAN remarks, the number of works known to Sicco was astonishingly large, though it is not necessary to suppose that he read them all, or even had direct access to them. He apparently knew very little of Lucretius, Petronius, Valerius Flaccus, Calpurnius, Ausonius or Claudian. And some of his statements about other Latin authors hardly agree with our best modern textbooks. Thus he says that the Cornelius of Catullus' first poem was Cornelius Gallus; that Ovid wrote twelve books of Fasti, and Statius five books of his Achilleis; that the Christian poetess Proba was called Centona; that Martial's cognomen was Coquus, and that he was a Marsian by birth; that Martianus Capella, " qui etiam Mineus Felix appellatus est," lived in the time of Augustus. Of the death of Statius he writes, " Statium Domicianus stillo confixit." Seneca Rhetor and Seneca Moralis are regarded as one and the same person—who lived more than 118 years. Seneca Tragicus is called the son of Seneca Moralis. The correspondence between Seneca and St. Paul is regarded as authentic, and the essay De Brevitate Vitae is said to have been addressed " ad Paulinum, seu ut magis existimo, ad Paulum Apostolum." The Lactantius who wrote scholia on Statius is called Lactantius Firmianus. Still, the name A. Gellius is not written Agellius.

Sicco's great hero was Cicero, to whom he devotes seven long books—quippe res magna est Cicero. This is a highly creditable study, and shows the author at his best. Two other writers whom he especially admires are Cato Major and Seneca Moralis. He has a sensible comment on Horace's behavior at Philippi: Signis autem eversis ac rebus desperatis, cum sibi aut moriendum aut fugiendum esset, cessit fortunae et quos etiam moriendo illa ut non poterat victos idem ut prodi atque plateret et honesta fuga deseruit. And he has a pawky note on Horace's quick temper: Subitaneus quidem ad iram. ut solent homines statura parvi, facile movebatur.

In the notes below the text Professor ULLMAN has set down a

great many of Sicco's sources, but purposely leaves a more complete study of the matter to be done by another hand. Meanwhile, the reader may be interested in some further notes of the same kind. They show, among other things, a rather intimate acquaintance with Plutarch. P. 23, 27-31, Servius, on Aen. 1, 741; 65, 2, Tibull. 1, 1, 1; 66, 23-25, Ovid, Tr. 4, 10, 51-52; 68, 12, Cic. Phil. V. 16, 45; 144, 19, Plato, Timaeus, 22; 44, 5, Hor. A. P. 333; 199, 5, Gellius, 1, 10; 227, 7-9, Plin. N. H. praef. 21; 250, 23-26, Plutarch, Cato, 17, Cic. Cato Maior, 12, 42; 250, 26-27, Plut. Cato, 17; 250, 34, Plut. Cato, 18; 257, 8, Plut. Cato, 9; 271, 11, Plato, Theaet. 175 A; 274, 11, Plut. Cic. 2; 275, 1-3, Plut. Cic. 2; 285, Cic. Planc. 26, 65; 293, 1-14, Pliny, Ep. 3, 20, 5-6; 380, 17-19, Cic. Fam. 6, 6, 5; 381, 19-20, Plut. Pomp. 57; 381, 32, Plut. Pomp. 61; 382, 12, Cic. Att. 7, 17, 3-4; 410, 23, Plut. Cic. 44; 419, 12, Sueton. Aug. 2; 427, 16, Cic. Phil. XIV. 14, 36; 433, 25, Plut. Cic. 47; 455, 9-10, Cic. Leg. 1, 1; 466, 20, Seneca, ad Helv. 17, 3-4; 471, 5, Seneca, Ep. 108, 23; 473, 5-15, Seneca, Ep. 108, 21-22; 473, 26, Seneca, Ep. 12, 1; 477, 29, Plato, Rep. V 473 D; 497, 2, Sueton. Cal. 53. The statement about Plutarch's estimate of Seneca, p. 499, 22-30, may be based on Petrarch, Ep. Fam. XXIV, 5, or Ep. contra Gallum.

The volume is well worthy both of the distinguished editor and of the American Academy in Rome. It is very carefully printed, though p. 201, 29, has bonorum, for bonarum, and p. 234, 12, eses, for esse. There seems also to be some confusion or omission at p. 97, 3, and p. 513, 19.

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Cicero. The Letters to His Friends. With an English Translation by W. GLYNN WILLIAMS. In three volumes. London, William Heinemann Ltd.; New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1927, 1928. Vol. I and II.

It is difficult to comprehend why the feeble edition of Nobbe (1849) should have been chosen as the basis of the Loeb translation of the letters of Cicero Ad Familiares, especially after Sjögren's excellent edition appeared. In the very first letter Mr. WILLIAMS, following Nobbe, needlessly departs from the MSS in seven instances, and that represents his procedure throughout. The text, therefore, can never be trusted. This is the more to be regretted because the translations are idiomatic, fluent, and reveal no little ingenuity in giving a satisfactory rendering of the Latin that he has.

The brief notes contain all too many errors. Claudius did not succeed Cicero in Cilicia (I, p. 132); Tullia had not yet

married Dolabella in 51 B. C., much less left him (138) ; Bibulus was of course not Cicerô's colleague in the consulship (p. 169) ; it is hardly correct to say that Sulpicius was surnamed Lemonia (p. 246) ; the Battle of Forum Gallorum was fought in April not in February of 43; auctioneers were refused municipal office not because " they were detested " (p. 504) but because they were as a rule pecuniarily interested in public contracts which they would have to execute as magistrates. M. Caelius Rufus (written *Caecilius,* Vol. II, p. 98) was certainly not a native of Tusculum. On p. 134 occurs the startling remark : " both he (Mr. Jeans) and Mr. Shuckburgh are wrong as to date; Pridie Kal. October (*sic*) is the 30th, not the 29th, of September." This explains several incorrect dates in the letters that occur before Caesar's reform of the calendar. Mr. Merrill has shown that Fam. XI. 1 was probably not written in March. Macedonia was not transferred from Antony to Brutus (p. 500) and the assertion (on p. 530) that Trebonius had no right to Asia is of course incorrect. Before a second edition of this work is issued the translator, whose work is otherwise satisfactory, should have the aid of a competent text-critic to provide a scientific recension and of a historian to revise the notes.

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S. Aureli Augustini Hipponensis Episcopi De Catechizandis Rudibus. Translated with an Introduction and Commentary by JOSEPH PATRICK CHRISTOPHER. Brookland, D. C. The Catholic Education Press. xxi + 365 pp. $3.00.

This dissertation is Volume VIII of the Catholic University of America Patristic Studies. The Introduction (pp. 1-13) sets forth the essential facts about the treatise, its date, importance, sources, style, etc. The text and translation are arranged to face each other. The text is chiefly that of the Benedictines with a few emendations, all of which seem to be conservative. The translation, which was made by Dr. CHRISTOPHER especially for this edition, gives a faithful rendering of the text. The Commentary (pp. 122-336) is very full. Special attention is devoted to elucidating the differences between the language and style of Augustine and that of the classical writers. The writer exhibits a scholarly knowledge of classical and patristic literature to say nothing of the Bible. Matters of theology and ecclesiastical practice are admirably expounded. There is a brief appendix (pp. 337-338) devoted to the question of African

Latinity. Here the point is made that there is no such thing as a distinctive " African Latin," but we nĭust admit the existence of a distinctive African style. It is pointed out quite justly that the Latin of the African provincials was often painfully correct, although the influence of the Second Sophistic had tended to color the style somewhat. The dissertation has a complete and useful index. Dr. CHRISTOPHER's book is to be recommended to those who seek a knowledge of what is one of the most popular of Augustine's treatises, for the whole work shows care and scholarship of a high order. It is to be hoped that works of this kind will serve to attract others to the field of patristic study, a field which has not received much attention from American students.

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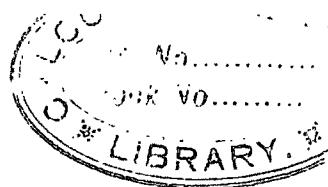
ST. AUGUSTINE'S " CITY OF GOD "[1]: ITS PLAN AND DEVELOPMENT

Many statements have been made by scholars regarding the plan and development of St. Augustine's *City of God,* and while they may be said to agree in the main, yet they are sometimes contradictory in details, they are frequently vague, and always very incomplete. The purpose of the present article is to present, through the study of every available source, such a plan as St. Augustine had in mind for the *City of God* while writing it, and to show by a careful analysis of the work, how this plan was actually carried out in the finished masterpiece itself.

In the second and third portions of this study we shall call attention to anything in the form of a digression, repetition, or unnecessary explanation that might be thought to mar the plan. To our knowledge, no detailed study of the *City of God* from this point of view is as yet in print.[2]

I

The Plan of the City of God as Conceived by St. Augustine

The sources of our information concerning St. Augustine's plan are the *City of God* itself, the *Retractations,* and a few scat-

[1] All references to pages and sections of the *City of God* are according to the Teubner edition of Dombart.

[2] Cf. J. Rickaby, St. Augustine's City of God, New York. 1925. page 1; J. E. C. Weldon, City of God, London, 1924, Introduction, page VIII; P. de Labriolle, Histoire de la Littérature Latine Chrétienne, Paris, 1924, pages 546 ff.; O. Bardenhewer, Geschichte der Altkirchlichen Literatur, Freiburg, 1924, Vol. IV, page 457; M. Schanz, Geschichte der Römischen Literatur, Munich, 1920, Vol. IV. 2, page 416.

tered references of little importance in Augustine's other works. Throughout the *City of God* we find references to the plan. There is not one book in which he does not allude to it. However, it is in Book I. 35, 36, in X. 32, and in XVIII. 1, that the plan receives noteworthy attention. It seems as if in the beginning, in the middle, and when nearing the end of his great task, St. Augustine paused to recall to his readers as well as to himself the general purpose and the main outline of his work.

In I. 35, 36, he summarizes the plan thus:[3] " I think that now I ought to speak, as God shall help me, of the rise, progress, and deserved ends of the two cities. . . . But there are still certain things which ought to be said against those who refer the disasters of the Roman state to our religion, which forbade them to offer sacrifices to their gods. I must recount all the evils which will occur to my mind (or as many as may seem sufficient) which befell Rome or the provinces belonging to it, before these sacrifices had been forbidden. Then I must show what moral virtues of theirs the true God—in whose power are all kingdoms—deigned to foster to the extent of assisting in the increase of their empire; I must show why He did this, and that their false gods did not help them at all, but rather injured them by guile and deceit. Lastly I must treat with those who, though refuted and convinced by most evident proofs, yet endeavor to maintain that the gods should be worshipped, not on account of advantages in this present life, but for those which belong to the life after death."

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[3] de quarum exortu et procursu et debitis finibus quod dicendum arbitror, quantum divinitus adiuvabor. . . .
Sed adhuc mihi quaedam dicenda sunt adversus eos, qui Romanae rei publicae clades in religionem nostram referunt, qua diis suis sacrificare prohibentur. Commemoranda sunt enim quae et quanta occurrere poterunt vel satis esse videbuntur mala, quae illa civitas pertulit vel ad eius imperium provinciae pertinentes, antequam eorum sacrificia prohibita fuissent. . . . Deinde monstrandum est, quos eorum mores et quam ob causam Deus verus ad augendum imperium adiuvare dignatus est, in cuius potestate sunt regna omnia, quamque nihil eos adiuverint hi, quos deos putant, et potius quantum decipiendo et fallendo nocuerint. Postremo adversus eos dicetur, qui manifestissimis documentis confutati atque convicti conantur asserere non propter vitae praesentis utilitatem, sed propter eam, quae post mortem futura est, colendos deos.

Compare this with the plan of the *City of God* as given in the Retractations (II. 43) written in 427, one year [4] after the former work was finished.[5] "This great work, the *City of God,* was at last completed in twenty-two books. The first five of these books were occupied with the refutation of such persons as believe that the worship of many gods, according to the custom of paganism, is necessary to secure human prosperity, and that all the evils of the present time have arisen and abound because of its prohibition. The next five are against those who admit that these calamities are never wanting to the human race, that they are at one time great, at another small, varying with times, places, and persons, but who yet argue that the worship of many gods, and the sacrifices offered to them are advantageous for the life to come after death. In these ten books then, these two vain opinions, hostile to the Christian religion, are refuted. But that no one might reproach me with having merely refuted the doctrines of others, without asserting my own position, I have then made this the object of the second part of my work, which is contained in twelve books; although to be sure, in the first ten books I also assert my own opinion wherever needful, and in the last twelve make refutations of my opponents. Of these last twelve books, the first four contain the origin of the two cities, the city of God and the city

[4] The *City of God* was begun in 413 A. D., and completed in 426.

[5] Hoc autem *de civitate Dei* grande opus tandem viginti duobus libris est terminatum. Quorum quinque primi eos refellunt, qui res humanas ita prosperari volunt, ut ad hoc multorum deorum cultum, quos pagani colere consuerunt, necessarium esse arbitrentur, et quia prohibetur, mala ista exoriri atque abundare contendunt. Sequentes autem quinque adversus eos loquuntur, qui fatentur haec mala nec defuisse umquam nec defutura mortalibus, et ea nunc magna, nunc parva locis temporibus personisque variari, sed deorum multorum cultum, quo eis sacrificatur, propter vitam post mortem futuram esse utilem disputant. His ergo decem libris duae istae vanae opiniones Christianae religioni adversariae refelluntur. Sed ne quisquam nos aliena tantum redarguisse, non autem nostra asseruisse reprehenderet, id agit pars altera operis huius, quae libris duodecim continetur, quam-

of this world, the second four their history or progress, and the third and last four their appointed ends."

These two quotations make it plain that the plan, as it was in St. Augustine's mind at the very beginning when he was writing the first book, was practically the same as it was fourteen years later when the twenty-two books were completed and he was writing the *Retractations.*

The plan as given in Book X. 32, differs little from that in I. 35, 36, but what concerns the first five books is more concisely stated, and Augustine says more definitely in which books the different topics have been, or will be treated. This is natural, for while writing the first book, although he had the whole subject in view, yet he could hardly have known exactly the length of the subdivisions. He says in X. 32: [6] " In these ten books . . . I have refuted the objections of the ungodly, who prefer their gods to the founder of the holy city about which I undertook to treat. Of these ten books, the first five were written against those who think that the false gods ought to be worshipped on account of the advantages of the present life; the next five against those who think that the worship of the gods is beneficial for the life which is after death. Now I shall go on, as I promised that I would in the first book, . . . to say what I think ought to be said of the rise, progress, and deserved ends of the two cities . . ." Book XVIII, 1, is, in general, a repetition of this, with some additional details about the last twelve books, especially XI—XVIII.[7]

Aside from these references, the others are either incidental allusions, or they explain the purpose of one or two books rather than that of the work as a whole. Such references are found in:

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[6] Quapropter in decem istis libris . . . satisfecimus refutando contradictiones impiorum, qui conditori sanctae civitatis, de qua disputare instituimus, deos suos praeferunt. Quorum decem librorum quinque superiores adversus eos conscripti sunt, qui propter bona vitae huius deos colendos putant; quinque autem posteriores adversus eos, qui cultum deorum propter vitam, quae post mortem futura est, servandum existimant. Deinceps itaque, ut in primo libro polliciti sumus, de duarum civitatum, quas in hoc saeculo perplexas diximus invicemque permixtas, exortu et procursu et debitis finibus quod dicendum arbitror, quantum divinitus adiuvabor expediam.

[7] For a similar statement, cf. Letter CLXXXIV, written in 417, after Augustine had finished 13 books, and was preparing to write the next.

II. 2, 29; III. 1; IV. 1, 2; V. Preface, 12, 26; VI. Preface, 1, 12; VII. Preface, 1; VIII. 1, 27; IX. 1, 2, 23; XI. 1, 9; XII. 1, 9; XIII. 1, 23; XIV. 1, 12; XV. 1, 27; XVI. 43; XVII. 1; XVIII. 54; XIX. 1, 28; XX. 1, 22, 30; XXI. 1, 27; XXII. 1, 30. Evidently the author had a plan in mind, and was making a serious and steady effort to carry it out. While the details of this plan naturally became more definite, as Augustine progressed with his work, its essential structure remained the same from the beginning to the end, and could be reconstructed from these references alone without consulting the finished work itself.

Books I—V were intended as a refutation of those who held that the false gods were to be worshipped for the sake of the blessings of this life. (I. 35, V. 26, VI. Preface, 12, X. 32, Retrac. II. 43.) *Book I* will answer the charges made against the Christian religion, that it was due to it and to the prohibition of the worship of the false gods, that there fell upon Rome so many evils, in particular the sack of the city by the barbarians under Alaric in 410 A. D. (II. 2, IV. 1.) Augustine seems to have proposed to himself in this book to give a general answer to his adversaries, which he would develop more fully and from different viewpoints in the following books, for he says in the last chapter, " There are still certain things which ought to be said against those who refer the disasters of the Roman state to our religion, which forbade them to offer sacrifices to their gods." (I. 36.) *Book II* will accordingly continue the argument against the enemies of the Christians by recounting a sufficient number of the disasters which befell Rome and its subject provinces before these sacrifices to the false gods were prohibited. (I. 36, II. 2.) It also shows, as Augustine remarks after its completion (III. 1), that the false gods took no steps to prevent the people who worshipped them from being overwhelmed by moral and spiritual evils, but rather aggravated their ruin. The evils recounted in *Book II* are the moral evils, and *Book III* will deal with the external and bodily evils which came upon Rome before the time of Christ (I. 36, III. 1, IV. 2), and will show that, with regard to the averting of these, the demons had not the power they were believed to have. (II. 29.)

In I. 36, Augustine says, in sketching the plan, that after he has treated the external evils, he will go on to show what moral virtues of the Romans the true God deigned to consider for the increase of their empire; that he will make it clear why He did so, and show that their false gods, instead of at all aiding them, greatly injured them by guile and deceit. In IV. 2 he repeats this, and states his intention of speaking chiefly of the increase of the Roman empire. This then is what we expect to be discussed in *Book IV*. But later he says that in *Book V* he will show why God has seen fit to grant such extended and long-continued dominion to the Romans, and give additional proofs that this was not due to the false gods. (V. Preface, 12.) There is evidently a repetition or confusion of some sort here.

Books VI—X are to be directed against those who hold that the false gods are to be worshipped, not for the present advantages of this life, but for those which are to be enjoyed after death. (I. 36, V. 26, X. 32, Retrac. II. 43.) *Book VI* will take up the argument (VI. 1), but Augustine realized from the beginning the greatness of this part of the work, for he said, referring to it in I. 36: " This, if I am not mistaken, will be the most difficult question to handle, and will be worthy of the most subtle arguments, for then we must dispute with the philosophers. . . ." It is not surprising then, that one book on this subject is not sufficient; and at the end of VI he bids those who think that he has not disputed enough to show that this civil theology ought to be rejected, to attend to the next book, which will be added to this one. (VI. 12.) Again in the Preface and first chapter of *Book VII*, he says that those who are not convinced by the former books that eternal life is not attainable through the worship of false gods, must bear patiently with him, while in *Book VII* he brings forward additional proofs to convince those still obstinate in their depraved and ancient opinions hostile to true piety. (VII. Preface, 1.)

Book VIII is intended to take up the matter with the philosophers whose opinions pertain to theology, especially with those who deny that one God should be worshipped for obtaining life after death, as well as for the goods of the present time, in a word, with the Platonists. (VIII. 1.) The question of the

"daemones ",[8] whom the Platonists regarded as mediators between gods and men, forms an important part of the discussion. (IX. 1.) In *Book IX* Augustine will continue on the subject of divinities, examining whether there are some good, some wicked; and if so, whether the good divinities should not be worshipped for the attainment of eternal happiness. (VIII. 27, IX. 2.) *Book X* will show that good spirits desire that religious worship be paid to God alone, by Whom they were created, and by Whose communications of Himself to them they were blessed. (IX. 23.) These ten books will complete the reply to the enemies of the City of God (XI. 1), for they will have refuted the objections of the ungodly who prefer their gods to the founder of this holy city. (X. 32.)

In the following twelve books, the origin, progress, and deserved destinies of the two cities will be treated. (I. 35, X. 32, XI. 1, XIX. 1, Retrac. II. 43.) The first matter to be discussed, *Book XI,* is how the foundations of these two cities were originally laid in the difference that arose among the angels (XI. 1, XII. 1), and the Scriptures relating to this fact are explained. (XI. 9.) Then in *Book XII* Augustine will demonstrate that it is not incongruous to speak of a society composed of angels and men, and show that there are not four cities (two of angels, and two of men), but two, one composed of the good (angels and men) and one of the wicked (angels and men). (XII. 1.) In the same book he will speak of the origin of that part of the city which is gathered among mortal men (XII. 9) and dispose of the difficult problem of the origin of the world and the beginning of the human race. (XIII. 1.) *Book XIII* will discuss the fall of the first man, and the propagation of human death. (XIII. 1.) In closing Book XIII, Augustine says that next he must discuss and solve the question as to how our first parents would have begotten children if they had remained sinless, as they were created. (XIII. 23.) *Book XIV* will also explain that there are two kinds of human society (the two cities), those who live according to the spirit, and those who live according to the flesh (XIV. 1), and show what it

means to live according to the spirit, and what according to the flesh. (XIV. 2.)   •

The purpose of the next four books is to give an account of the progress of the two cities, and attempt a history of their careers from the time of our first parents until all human generation shall cease. (XV. 1, Retrac. II. 43.) In *Book XV.* this account will be begun (XV. 1), and the first age outlined (XVI. 43), including the history of both cities from the first man down to the flood. Augustine endeavors to show that the biblical narrative is true historically, and that its significance has a prophetic reference to the Church. (XV. 27.) In *Book XVI* he will trace the courses of the two cities subsequent to the deluge, which is the second and third ages in their history. (XV. 27, XVI. 43.) He gives the history of the City of God down to the reign of David (XVII. 1), but from the time of Abraham he drops the history of the earthly city to take it up later. (XVIII. 1.) *Book XVII* will continue the history of the City of God from David's reign until the advent of Christ (XVIII. 1), rehearsing (within limits) what the prophets predicted concerning the Messiah. (XVII. 1.) In *Book XVIII* the writer must first take up the course of the earthly city from the time of Abraham (XVIII. 1), and then follow up the mortal courses of both cities to the end of the world. (XVIII. 54.)

The last four books discuss the appointed ends of the two cities. (I. 35, X. 32, XI. 1, XIX. 1, Retrac. II. 43.) In *Book XIX* the reasons, on account of which men have attempted to make for themselves a happiness in this life, will be explained, and also the difference between the vain dreams which the philosophers offer, and the hope God gives us of eternal blessedness. (XIX. 1.) *Book XX* will treat of the last judgment, by which the good pass to the supreme good, and the wicked to supreme evil (XIX. 28, XX. 22), and will prove from Scripture that there certainly will be a last judgment. (XX. 1.) *Book XXI* will discuss thoroughly the nature of the punishment of the wicked, of both angels and men, when the two cities shall have reached their opposite ends, and it will refute the arguments of unbelievers who scoff at the idea of eternal punishment. (XX. 30, XXI. 1.) Finally the work will end with a

discussion in *Book XXII* of the eternal blessedness of the City
of God. (XXII. 1.) •

Such, then, is the plan of the *City of God* as St. Augustine
conceived it before he began the work, while writing it, and as it
appeared to him when he looked back on it in after years. It
seems to have been very clearly defined in his own mind, and,
except for details, to have been ever present to him. There is
no confusion nor contradiction save in the subject-matter of
Books IV and V, and this we shall presently attempt to explain.

II

ANALYSIS OF THE "CITY OF GOD"

The twenty-two books of the *City of God* obviously fall into
two groups: the first ten are a reply to the enemies of the
Church, who blamed the Christians for the evils that befell
Rome; the last twelve give an account of the origin, history,
and different ends of the two cities. Of the first ten, the first
five are an answer to those·who held that the gods were to be
worshipped for the advantages of the present life, while the sec-
ond five are directed against those who worshipped them for
the life to come. Of the last twelve, the first four treat of the
·origin of the two cities, the second four of their·progress or
history, and the third four of their appointed ends.

This, in general, is the subject-matter of the work. The fol-
lowing table shows the content of the *City of God,* and such
material as, in our opinion, mars the plan, is indicated in a
special manner, i. e., in bold-face type.

BOOK I

Answer to charges made against Christian religion that it was due
to it, and to the prohibition of worship of false gods, that evils fell
upon Rome.

Preface. Subject and purpose of work. 1 p.

Cc. 1-7. Pagans, instead of blaming Christian religion, should
attribute to it ·clemency of barbarians never shown before, when false
gods were worshipped. 8 pp.

Cc. 8-12 and 14-15. Why God permitted the good as well as the
wicked to suffer these apparent evils. 14 pp.

C. **13.** Reason why bodies should be buried whenever possible.
1½ pp.

Cc. 16-19, 25-26 and 28. Violation of Christian women not a real evil. Suicide not lawful to save virtue. Why God permitted this violation. 10 pp.

Cc. 20-24 and 27. Suicide is never lawful, but in certain cases death may be inflicted without incurring the guilt of murder. 8 pp.

Cc. 29-35. Answer to Romans who taunt the Christians, showing that it is the licentiousness and vice into which they have fallen that prompt these taunts. 6 pp.

C. 36. Subject-matter of following books. 1 p.

Total 49½ (40 + 9½) pp.

BOOK II

Continuation of argument against enemies of Christians; account of moral evils that befell Rome before time of Christ, showing that false gods did not help those who worshipped them, but aggravated their ruin.

Cc. 1-3. Plan of Book II. Recapitulation of Book I. Sources of argument. 3½ pp.

Cc. 4-6. False gods never improved morals of their worshippers, but rather demanded immoral rites. 4 pp.

Cc. 7-8. Answers foreseen objections. 2 pp.

Cc. 9-13. By comparison with Greek practices, shows immorality of Roman gods, and inconsistency of Romans in scenic entertainments. 6 pp.

Cc. 14-15. Inconsistency of Romans in their choice of gods. 3 pp.

Cc. 16-20 and 20-25. Corruption of morals in Roman empire proving that false gods gave their worshippers no laws, no rule of life, no moral precepts, nor did they preserve them from evil. 16 pp.

C. 21. Cicero's account of immorality of Roman state. 4 pp.

Cc. 26-29. Pagan worship contrasted with the Christian religion, which A. exhorts all to adopt. 6 pp.

Total 44½ (37½ + 7) pp.

BOOK III

Account of external disasters that occurred before the time of Christ, which the pagan gods were unable to prevent.

C. 1. Purpose of Books II and III. 1 p.

Cc. 2-3 and 5-7. Destruction of Troy; answers those who said it was sent as a deserved punishment, by pagan gods. 6 pp.

C. 4. Varro's opinion that it is useful for states that men feign to be offspring of gods. ½ p.

C. 8. Shows foolishness of entrusting Rome to Trojan gods. ½ p.

Cc. 9-13. Helplessness of false gods, individually and collectively. 7 pp.

Cc. 14-24 and 26-29. Disasters (wars especially) in Rome before time of Christ. 29 pp.

C. in 21. Asiatic luxury. ⅓ p.

C. 25. Utter inconsistency of building temple of *Concord* on scene of massacres. 1 p.

Cc. 30-31. Logical conclusion—that it is absurd to attribute present evils to Christian religion. 3 p.

Total 48⅓ (46 + 2⅓) pp.

BOOK IV

Extent of Roman empire (not a real blessing) is not to be attributed to false gods, but to one true God.

Cc. 1-2. Recapitulation of Books I, II, III; purpose of Book IV. 3 pp.

Cc. 3-6. Extent of Roman empire not a real blessing. 5 pp.

Cc. 7-11, 14, 17-25, 27-30. Rise and fall of empires can be attributed neither to Jove nor to multitude of lesser gods (of which Felicity alone, if she were a goddess, would be worthy of worship). 27 pp.

Cc. 12-13. The opinion of those who hold that the world and man are parts of God. 1½ pp.

C. 15. Whether men should not worship the injustice of the enemy, since it aids them to obtain wider rule themselves. 1 p.

C. 16. Why the Temple of Quiet was built outside the gates. ½ p.

C. 26. Immorality of scenic plays demanded by gods. (Example.) 1½ pp.

Cc. 31-34. Rise and fall of empires in the hands of the one true God. 4½ pp.

Total 44 (39½ + 4½) pp.

BOOK V

Extent of Roman empire not due to Fate, but granted by God, in His Wisdom and Providence, as a reward perhaps for the natural virtues of the Romans.

Preface. Purpose of Book V. ½ p.

Cc. 1-7. Supposed manifestations of Fate by position of stars, all a deception of astrologers. Extent of empire not due to Fate. 11 pp.

C. 8. Fate in sense of causes dependent on Will of God. 1 p.

Cc. 9-11. Foreknowledge of God, and freedom of man's will. 8½ pp.

Cc. 12-13 and 15-19. Natural virtues of Romans, of which extent of empire was a reward. Christians look for reward in next life. 17 pp.

C. 14. Christians should not seek human praise, but give all glory to God. 2 pp.

C. 18. Difference between true glory and desire of domination. 1 p.

C. 20. It is shameful for virtue to serve human glory. 2½ p.

Cc. 21-26. Duration and issues went due to the Wisdom and Providence of God, Whose Justice will be recognized in eternity. 9½ pp.

Total 18 (9½ + 78) pp.

Book .VI   •

False gods not to be worshipped for the sake of life after death. Three kinds of theology. Mythical theology.

Preface. Recapitulation of first 5 books. 1 p.

C. 1. Draws conclusion from preceding books, that if the gods are unable to give earthly kingdoms, they cannot give heavenly. 3½ pp.

Cc. 2-9. Discussion of Varro's opinion of the gods; his mythical, physical and civil theology, from which there is no hope of eternal life. 18½ pp.

C. in 9. Special offices assigned to the gods. 1½ pp.

C. 10. Seneca's opinion of civil theology. 3 pp.

C. 11. Seneca's opinion of the religion of the Jews. 1 p.

C. 12. Draws conclusion—false gods not to be worshipped on account of the life after death. 1½ pp.

Total 30 (27½ + 2½) pp.

Book VII

Further proof that false gods (in particular, select gods of civil theology) are not to be worshipped for life after death.

Preface. Purpose of Book. ½ p.

Cc. 1-4. Select gods of civil theology—who they were, and inconsistency of selection. 7 pp.

Cc. 5-10 and 13-28. Physical interpretations as given by Varro; their absurdity and inconsistency. Such worship not of avail for obtaining eternal life. 29½ pp.

Cc. 11-12. Surnames of Jupiter. 2½ pp.

Cc. 29-33. Christians' belief in one God, contrasted with this pagan worship. 4½ pp.

Cc. 34-35. Varro's story about the books of Numa, who practiced hydromancy. 3½ pp.

Total 47½ (41½ + 6) pp.

Book VIII

Whether natural theology can lead men to eternal life. Question of " daemones."

C. 1. Purpose and subject-matter of book. 1½ pp.

Cc. 2-5. Two schools of philosophy; Italic and Ionic (to time of Plato, whose philosophy is preferred). 8 pp.

Cc. 6-8. Discussion of Plato's philosophy, physical, rational, and moral. 4½ pp.

Cc. 9-10 and 12-13. Platonic philosophy compared to Christian faith. 4½ pp.

C. 11. Whether or not Plato had read Scriptures. 2 pp.

C. in 12. Why Platonists are preferred to other philosophers. ½ p.

Cc. 14-18 and 20-22. Platonists' division of rational beings into gods, divinities, and men. Nature and rank of the divinities. 11 pp.

C. 19. Discussion of magic art. 2 pp.

Cc. 23-24 and 26-27. Teaching of Hermes about gods, contrasted with Christian teaching. 11½ pp.

C. in 24. Inconsistency of teaching of Hermes. 2 pp.

C. 25. How we should resemble the good angels. ½ p.

Total 48 (41 + 7) pp.

Book IX

Further discussion of "daemones", proving that the worship of good divinities cannot lead to eternal life.

Cc. 1-2. Recapitulation of VIII and argument of IX. 2 pp.

Cc. 3 and 7-8. Nature of divinities. Good as well as wicked subject to passions. 4 pp.

Cc. 4-5. Opinions of Peripatetics and Stoics about passions; Christian view of passions. 5 pp.

C. 6. Divinities subject to mental emotions. ½ p.

C. in 8. Apuleius's distinction between gods, divinities, and men. ½ p.

Cc. 9-10, 12-13, and 15-19. Good divinities considered as mediators between gods and men. Christ, the true Mediator. 13½ pp.

C. 11. Whether souls of men become divinities after death. ½ p.

C. 14. Whether men, though mortal, can enjoy eternal blessedness. ½ p.

Cc. 20-22. Of the knowledge which divinities possess. 3 pp.

C. 23. The name "god" as applied to angels, men, and demons. 2½ pp.

Total 32 (25 + 7) pp.

Book X

The good angels wish God alone to receive *latreia* worship.

Cc. 1-4 and 7. Worship is due to one God, as Christian faith teaches. 5½ pp.

C. in 1. Explanation of terms: λατρεία, θρησκεία, εὐσέβεια. 2 pp.

Cc. 5-6. It is profitable to man to offer sacrifices to God, although God does not need them. 4½ pp.

Cc. 8-9 and 11-13. Miracles wrought by God through ministry of angels contrasted with illicit arts connected with worship of demons. 9½ pp.

C. 10. Absurdity of theurgy. 1½ pp.

Cc. 14-20. Reasons for worshipping and offering sacrifices to one God only, for blessings of this life and of the next. 9½ pp.

C. in 15. God's appearance and words to the patriarchs. ½ p.

Cc. 21-32. Power of demons over saints, and how overcome according to Porphyry's teaching, and how according to Christ's. 27 pp.

Total 60 (24½ + 35½) pp.

BOOK XI •

Origin of the two cities in the difference that arose among the angels.
C. 1.   Subject of second part of this work. 1½ pp.
Cc. 2-3.   Sources of our knowledge of God. 2 pp.
Cc. 4-8.   Creation of world in time, without any change in God.
7½ pp.
Cc. 9, 11, 13-17, 19-21 and 23-24.   Creation of angels; when created,
their nature, rank among creatures.   Explanation of Scripture texts
relating to this. 16 pp.
C. 10.   Nature of God, in Whom substance and quality are identical.
3 pp.
C. 12.   Comparison of righteous man's blessedness here on earth,
with that of first parents in Paradise. 1 p.
C. 18.   Antithesis—good shows more plainly set against evil. 1 p.
C. 22.   Refutes those who say there is some natural evil. 2 pp.
Cc. 25-28.   Images of Trinity found in divisions of philosophy; in
human nature.   Our knowledge and love of existence. 7 pp.
C. 29.   Knowledge angels have of God and of creatures. 1 p.
Cc. 30-31.   Perfection of numbers 6 and 7. 2½ pp.
Cc. 32-34.   Other opinions about creation of angels. 5 pp.
Total 49½ (33 + 16½) pp.

BOOK XII

Origin of the two cities (continued); good angels and good men, bad
angels and bad men.   Origin of human race.
Cc. 1-9.   Enemies of God (whether angels or men) so by their own
will.   All natures, irrational, rational, and angelic, are good in them-
selves. 14½ pp.
Cc. 10-12, 14-15 and 18.   Origin of the world; its age; creation of
human beings, implying no change in the Creator. 9½ pp.
C. 13.   Answers those who ask why man was not created at an
earlier age. 2 pp.
Cc. 16-17.   Whether God always had creatures over whom to exercise
sovereignty; explanation of expression "eternal times." 4½ pp.
Cc. 19-20.   Refutes those who say infinity cannot be comprehended by
God; what is meant by "ages of ages." 2½ pp.
C. 21.   Human soul will not return to earth in periodic revolutions.
4 pp.
Cc. 22-24. Human race descended from Adam; human soul the image
of God. 2½ pp.
Cc. 25-27.   Angels are not creators of souls nor of bodies. 4 pp.
C. 28.   In creation of the first man, foundation of the two cities
laid. 1 p.
Total 44½ (35½ + 9) pp.

Book XIII

Fall of first man and propagation of human death.

C. 1. Purpose and subject of this book. ½ p.

Cc. 2-6 and 8. Death, bodily and spiritual. Bodily, a punishment. It is good for the good, evil for the evil. 7½ pp.

C. 7. Death of martyrs takes the place of baptism. 1 p.

Cc. 9-11. Exact moment of death. 5½ pp.

Cc. 12-15. Death the result of Adam's sin. 3½ pp.

Cc. 16-19. Nature of human bodies; refutes those who say that blessedness of soul consists in being freed from body; that bodies cannot be eternal. 9 pp.

Cc. 20 and 22-23. Spiritualized bodies more perfect than those of our first parents. 7 pp.

C. 21. Paradise to be understood in both allegorical and historical sense. 1½ pp.

C. in 24. Explanation of Scripture texts. 6 pp.

C. 24. Summary of argument and purpose of next book. 1½ pp.

Total 43 (29 + 14) pp.

Book XIV

Consequences of man's sin. Living according to the flesh, and according to the spirit.

Cc. 1-5. Difference in the two cities; one according to flesh, other according to spirit. 8½ pp.

C. 4. Explanation of term "caro". 1½ pp.

Cc. 6-10. Man's will and his passions. 8 pp.

C. 7. Use of terms "amor" and "dilectio" in Holy Scripture. 1½ pp.

Cc. 8-9. Stoics' view of passions; Christian view. 5 pp.

Cc. 11-15. Nature of Adam's sin; its cause and punishment. 11 pp.

Cc. 16-24 and 26. Concupiscence, the result of sin. Without sin, will would have had body and passions under perfect control. 16 pp.

C. 25. Man cannot enjoy perfect happiness in this life. 1 p.

Cc. 27-28. Fall of angels and of men did not disturb God's eternal designs. Difference in spirit of the two cities. 2 pp.

Total 54½ (45½ + 9) pp.

Book XV

... ... of the two cities from ... ...

C. 1. Purpose of this book. ...

Cc. 1-8. The two cities: Abel belonged to city of God, which is ... ... life, only ... here ... ... Cain, a fratricide (like ... ... later), belonged to city of the world. ... ... pp.

Cc. 9 and 10-15. Discussion about the great age and gigantic stature of Antediluvians. 1½ and 15 pp.

Cc. 16-21. Marriage custom; significance of names; genealogy of Cain and of Seth up to the deluge. 14 pp.

C. in 20. Significance of the number 11. 1 p.

C. 22-27. The deluge: its cause, explanation of Scripture; historical and figurative meaning of the ark. 14 pp.

Total 62 (46 + 16) pp.

BOOK XVI

History of the two cities from Noah to Abraham. Of city of God alone from Abraham to Kings. Explanation of prophecies and figures of Christ.

Cc. 1-4, 7-8 and 10. History of both cities from Noah to Abraham. 17½ pp.

Cc. 5-6. Explanation of Scriptural expressions. 2½ pp.

C. 9. Whether we are to believe in Antipodes. 1 pp.

C. 11. Origin of name "Hebrew", and whether Hebrew was the original language. 3½ pp.

Cc. 12-24, 26 and 28-30. History of the two cities during time of Abraham. Promises made to him. 27 pp.

C. 25. Sarah's handmaid Hagar. 1 p.

C. 27. Why male infants perished without circumcision. 1½ pp.

Cc. 31-37. History during time of Isaac. 10½ pp.

Cc. 38-42. History during time of Jacob. 8 pp.

C. 43. Times of Moses, Joshua, Judges, and Kings. 3 pp.

Total 75½ (66 + 9½) pp.

BOOK XVII

Course of city of God from David to Christ. Interpretation of prophecies in books of Kings, Psalms, and Solomon.

Cc. 1-3. Prophetic age, from Samuel to return from Babylonian captivity. 6 pp.

Cc. 4-8 and 13. Prophecies before time of David. Hannah and Samuel. 25 pp.

Cc. 9-12. 89th psalm compared to prophecy in Book of Samuel. Full explanation of this psalm. 8 pp.

Cc. 14-19. Prophecies of David. 11 pp.

Cc. 20-24. History from time of Solomon until Christ. 9 pp.

Total 59 (51 + 8) pp.

BOOK XVIII

History of both cities from Abraham to end of world.

C. 1. Recapitulation of first 17 books; purpose of Book XVIII. 1 p.

Cc. 2-16 and 19-26. Courses of both cities from Abraham to Baby-lonian captivity. 30 pp.

C. 9. How Athens received its name. ½ p.

C. 10. Naming of Areopagus. ½ p.

Cc. 17-18. Transformation of men into birds and beasts. 3½ pp.

Cc. 27-36. Prophecies concerning Christ and the Church from Hosea to Malachi; those contained in Book of Esdras. 20½ pp.

Cc. 37-41. Comparison of prophetic records with those of pagan philosophy, in age and reliability. Discord of philosophy, concord of Scriptures. 8½ pp.

Cc. 42-44. Translation of Scriptures into Greek, the Septuagint. 5 pp.

Cc. 45-54. History of the two cities from Babylonian captivity to end of world. 21 pp.

Total 90½ (72 + 18) pp.

BOOK XIX

Appointed ends of the two cities; difference between happiness sought in this life, and that of heaven.

Cc. 1-3. Supreme good according to Varro's *De Philosophia.* 10 pp.

Cc. 4-9. Christian idea of supreme good; it is to be found in next life; miseries of this. 14 pp.

Cc. 10-15, 17 and 20. Reward in next life, eternal peace; in what true peace consists. Sought in this life, but found only in the next. 15 pp.

C. in 12. Story of the Giant Cacus. 1 p.

C. 16. Advice to rulers to govern with equity. 1 p.

C. 18. Uncertainty of " New Academy ". 1 p.

C. 19. Customs of dress and modes of life of the Christians. 1½ pp.

Cc. 21-24. Concerning Cicero's *De Republica;* according to Cicero's definition, there never was a Roman state. 11½ pp.

Cc. 25-27. True peace and happiness: practice of Christian virtue here, beatific vision hereafter. 3 pp.

C. 28. End of the wicked. 1 p.

Total 59 (43 + 16) pp.

BOOK XX

The Last Judgment.

Cc. 1-3. Definition; God's judgments in general. 5 pp.

Cc. 4-12 and 14-20. Proofs of last judgment from the New Testa-ment—our Lord's words, Apocalypse St. Peter, St. Paul, 4½½ pp.

C. 15. Whether the persecution of antichrist should be reckoned in the " Millennium " of St. John. 2 pp.

Cc. 21-23 and 27-28. Proofs of last judgment from Old Testament. (Isaias, Daniel, David, Malachi.) 21½ pp.

C. **26.** What is meant by expression, sacrifices shall be pleasing to God "as in the primitive days and as in former years." **3 pp.**

C. 30. In Old Testament Christ is not explicitly mentioned at judgment, but "Lord God" means Christ. 6½ pp.

Total 81½ (76½ + 5) pp.

Book XXI

End of the city of the world, eternal punishment.

C. 1. Purpose of this book, and reason why it precedes book on end of city of God. 1 p.

Cc. 2-8. Proves that bodies can live in eternal fire. 20 pp.

Cc. 9-13. Hell: nature and justice of its eternal punishment. 8½ pp.

Cc. 14-16. Sufferings and struggles of this life, an atonement for sin, and a reminder that we are made for the next. 4½ pp.

Cc. 17-27. False opinions about hell stated and refuted. 31½ pp.

Total 65½ (61 + 4½) pp.

Book XXII

Heaven, the end of the city of God.

Cc. 1-3. Angels and men created for eternal life in heaven. Promises in Old Testament. 4 pp.

C. in 2. God's will unchangeable. 1 p.

Cc. 4-5, 7 and 9-11. Resurrection of bodies. 9 pp.

C. **6.** Motives of Romans for believing their founder, Romulus, a god, contrasted with those of Christians for believing in resurrection of Christ. **4 pp.**

C. **8.** Long list of miracles proving divinity of Christ. **16 pp.**

C. **10.** Miracles worked through intercession of saints. **1½ pp.**

Cc. 12-21. Questions about resurrection considered and answered. 15½ pp.

Cc. 22-24. This life with its miseries and blessings contrasted with life to come. 8 and 5 pp.

Cc. 25-28. False opinions about resurrection. 6 pp.

Cc. 29-30. Eternal happiness of city of God. 13 pp.

Total 83 (55½ + 27½) pp.

III

How St. Augustine Conforms to His Plan of the "City of God"

The preceding table shows that St. Augustine, in writing the *City of God* conformed to his original plan in its main outlines. The work turned out to be just what he intended it to be from the beginning, and each book fulfills in general its definite part

in the development of the whole. But we also see that St.
Augustine writes in a rambling, leisurely style. He reaches his
end indeed, but only after frequent pauses on the way, and sev-
eral wanderings from the main road into circuitous by-paths.
His goal is ever before him, and he keeps pushing on towards
it, but he seems to take it as a matter of course that he will
stop now and again to answer supposed objections, to give
numerous examples, and to explain difficulties, even if they are
foreign to his theme. Out of the 1220 Teubner pages of the
City of God, about 247 (one fifth of the whole) contain material
which has no immediate or essential connection with the sub-
ject. It may seem to some that there are other pages which
ought to be added to these 247. The matter is, of course, to
some extent subjective. We have marked only those parts which
seem clearly to be defects in the plan.

These defects may be grouped into the following six classes:

1) We find that St. Augustine often digresses to give expla-
nations to the Christians on some point of doctrine or morals.
Such chapters generally amount to short sermons, which, though
interesting and instructive, do not contribute to the development
of the plan.

2) Again we have expositions of pagan views and customs.
Sometimes these are necessary to make the preceding or follow-
ing matter intelligible, but often they are uncalled-for devia-
tions from the subject.

3) Augustine makes a constant effort to be clear and con-
vincing. As a result of this, we find here and there super-
fluous arguments added after the proof is really complete. These
indicate lack of finish in Augustine's workmanship.

4) Sometimes, too, he becomes prolix (prolixitati, IV. 34)
as he himself remarks, and we have discussions and illustrations,
apt and useful, but too long and detailed for a perfectly devel-
oped theme.

5) We find repetitions in the *City of God,* but they are not
very frequent considering the length of the work. We have
examples of parts or chapters repeated, but rarely of whole
chapters.

6) Lastly, St. Augustine reveals a fondness for the symboli-
cal meaning of words, especially of numbers. Often these

explanations are too brief to mar the plan, but at times they assume larger proportions and become serious defects.

Examples of the first class, instructions to the Christians, are quite numerous: I. 13, V. 14, 19-20, VIII. 19, 25, IX. 5, 14, X. 5, 6, XI. 10, 12, 25-28, XIII. 7, 21, XIV. 25, XVI. 27, XVIII. 42-44, XIX. 16, 19, XXI. 14-16. Often they seem to be, though not just necessary, yet very pertinent, in order that Augustine's views may be entirely clear and not misinterpreted by the reader. This is the case in I. 13, and V. 14, 19-20. In I. 12 Augustine has stated, in answer to the taunts of the Romans, that those Christians whose bodies were denied burial in the sack of Rome, suffered thereby absolutely no injury. Then in chapter 13 he goes on to explain that, in spite of the truth of what he said in 12, the bodies of Christians ought, whenever possible, to have proper burial, as this is a mark of respect that we owe to the dead. Again, in Book V, Augustine has pointed out in chapter 12 that perhaps God had granted dominion to the Romans as a reward for their natural virtues, and among these he seems to include love of praise (13). Therefore, lest he be misunderstood, he takes pains to explain in 14 and in 19-20 that the virtue which should characterize Christians is humility, and that they ought to give all glory to God; he also shows (19) the difference between love of glory and desire of dominion (of which Nero is an example) and concludes that it is shameful for virtues to serve human glory (20).

In Book VIII, Augustine pauses in the midst of his treatment of the " daemones " to expose the impiety of magic art, and to warn the Christians against it (19). So in Book IX, while he is discussing whether or not the good divinities are subject to mental emotions, he takes the opportunity to set forth the Christian view of the passions in chapter 5, which, though not directly connected with the subject, suggests itself naturally at this point to both writer and reader.

In IX. 14, the question whether man can be happy in this life, arises out of the preceding discussion of the blessedness of the divinities. In IX. 12 the same question is asked, and here it is also answered. The subject of Book XIII. 1-6 is the evil of death. Chapter 7, which explains that the death of the Christian martyrs takes the place of baptism, seems at first to

be altogether irrelevant to the subject.   But from Augustine's
own words (at the end of 7) we understand why he inserted it—
to show that even for the martyrs, death is in itself an evil, and
only becomes a good by the use they make of it.

Book XIII. 21 and XVIII. 42-44 both refer to the Bible, and
admonish the Christians to hold it in great reverence.   XIII.
21, which explains that Paradise as described in the Bible may
be interpreted allegorically, but must also be accepted histori-
cally, is not directly related to the argument, but it gives weight
to what was said in the preceding chapter about the perfection
of body that our first parents possessed.   In XVIII. 42-44,
Augustine recounts the circumstances under which the Scrip-
tures were translated into Greek, and he commends the authority
of the translation.   These chapters follow naturally 27-41,
which treat of the prophecies contained in Holy Scripture, still
they are not a definite part of the plan.

Book XIX discusses the appointed ends of the two cities.   A
bit of wholesome advice to rulers (16) is cleverly wedged in
between a chapter on man's free will (15) and one on the joys
of peace (17).   In chapter 19 of the same book, Augustine
deviates from the subject again, to impress upon his readers
that it is not the dress or mode of life that makes a man a Chris-
tian, but rather conformity to God's commandments.   Hell, the
nature of its punishment, is treated in Book XXI.   In chapters
14 and 15 Augustine turns aside to consider the troubles and
temptations of this present life, and encourages the Christians
to bear with patience the former, and to struggle with courage
against the latter, if they wish to avoid eternal misery.   Instruc-
tions of the same type are found in VIII. 25, XI. 10, 25-28,
XIV. 25, and XVI. 27.

All these digressions seem to arise from Augustine's eagerness
to instruct the Christians in matters concerning which he
believed them to be ignorant or in doubt, or to admonish them
to the practice of virtue.   They are defects inasmuch as they
are obvious departures from the main subject.   We find other
chapters in the *City of God* which contain similar instructions,
but they pertain directly to the argument, and, of course, are
not included with these which mar the plan.   For example, in
II. 29, &c. Augustine discourses of the beauty of Christianity in
contrast to the revolting licentiousness of pagan worship, and

he exhorts all· to embrace it. But this is a real addition to the
main argument that the pagan gods are not worthy of worship.
. The second class of defects in the plan is closely related to
the first, as it also comprises explanations that are departures
from the main line of argument. (III. 4, 8, in 21, 25, IV. 12,
13, 15, 16, VI. 11, VII. 11, 12, IX. 4, 11, X. 10, XIII. 9-11,
XVI. 9, 11, XVIII. 9, 10, 17, 18, 37-41, XIX. 18, XXII. 6.)
However, Augustine's object in them is not so much to instruct
the Christians as to expose the falsity of his enemies' views,
and to show the inconsistency of their customs. In a few
instances, he deliberately pauses to reflect aloud, as it were, on
some absurd practice of the pagans. This is the case in Book III.
8, when he comments on the foolishness of the Romans in entrust-
ing their city to the helpless Trojan gods, and also in 25, when
he remarks the utter inconsistency of building a temple of *Con-
cord* on the scene of seditions and massacres. Again in VII.
11 and 12, he ridicules the many surnames given to Jupiter to
indicate his numerous offices—*Victor, Impulsor, Stator,* etc.,
and even *Pecunia,* on account of his riches. Other digressions
of this same kind are found in IV. 12, 13, 15, 16, and X. 10.
They are really side-thrusts at the Romans, and do not help the
argument.

In Book III. 2-3 Augustine shows that the fall of Troy could
not have been a punishment sent by the gods on account of the
adultery of Paris, for these very gods themselves committed
adultery, and he cites as examples Venus (wife of Vulcan) and
mother of Aeneas by Anchises, and Romulus son of Mars and a
vestal virgin. Then to prevent his readers from thinking that
these myths about the parentage of Aeneas and Romulus are
true, he breaks off in chapter 4 to quote Varro's opinion to the
contrary, thereby proving that not even the Romans themselves
believed in them. In chapter 21, there is a short paragraph
telling that Asiatic luxury was introduced into Rome during the
period which Sallust had described as the best. Augustine him-
self notes this little digression and gives the reason for it in the
same chapter. In VI. 10, Augustine, after speaking of how
Seneca censured the civil theology of the Romans, adds in chap-
ter 11 this philosopher's opinion of the Jewish religion. The
only connection that this has with the main subject (the worship

of the false gods) is Seneca's observation that the Jews knew the *reason* for their rites, and this could not be said of the Romans.

Twice in Book IX Augustine leaves his theme to dwell on certain pagan views. In chapter 4 he takes up the opinions of the Peripatetics and of the Stoics concerning the passions, and in 11 the teaching of the Platonists that the souls of men, when disembodied, become demons. We find in Book XIII, which treats of death, a good many paradoxical statements about the exact moment of death, and whether a man can be alive and dead at the same time. (9, 10, 11.) These seem to arise rather from a confusion of terms than from any real difference of opinions.

Chapter 9 of Book XVI is an interesting argument proving that the existence of Antipodes is altogether incredible. This conclusion was quite in accord with the scientific opinions of the times. The reason why the topic is introduced here is that Augustine wanted to account for all men living at the time of the deluge. We find another incorrect statement in chapter 11—that the name *Hebrew* comes from *Heber* and that Hebrew was the original language spoken before the confusion of tongues at Babel. However, as Rickaby remarks, "Errors of this kind are not to be imputed to St. Augustine, but to the age in which he lived." [9]

In Book XVIII there are several breaks in the narration of the history of the two cities; in chapters 9 and 10, Augustine discusses the naming of Athens and of the Areopagus (according to Varro's account) ; in 17 he examines Varro's story about the transformation of the companions of Ulysses into beasts, and in 18 he investigates whether or not man can be so transformed by the power of demons. In 37-41 he proves that in spite of statements to the contrary, the prophetic records in Scripture (which he has just been quoting) are more ancient and reliable than any fount of gentile philosophy, and he shows the discord of philosophic opinions in contrast to the concord of the canonical Scriptures. None of these explanations and side-remarks pertain strictly to the history that Augustine is giving, and so are defects in the plan.

Chapter 18 of Book XIX treats of the uncertainty, which, according to Varro, is characteristic of the New Academy. The

[9] St. Augustine's City of God, p. 69.

reason for the introduction of this topic here is to show that peace, the end of the City of God, is to be found, not in doubt, but in the certainty of Christian faith. In Book XXII Augustine offers, as one of the chief arguments in favor of our own resurrection, the miracle of Christ's resurrection and ascension. In chapter 6 he digresses to contrast the motives that Christians have for believing in the divinity of Christ, with those of the Romans in worshipping Romulus as a god.

Practically all of the digressions which we have noted in this second class of defects treat of some pagan view, either to refute it or to confirm it. As in the case of those included in the first class, it is chiefly the fact that they are only loosely connected with the subject that makes them defects in the plan.

Class III consists of unnecessary arguments added to the proof. (I. 20-24, II. 14, 15, V. 9, 10, 11, VII. 34, 35, VIII. 11, X. 21-32, XI. 22, XII. 12, XIII. 24.) Sometimes they seem to result from an over-anxiety on the part of the author to convince his readers. For example, in Book I sufficient proof has been given in chapters 17 and 19 that it is unlawful to commit suicide even to save one's virtue, and the example of Lucretia has been aptly cited. But Augustine is not yet satisfied, and he goes on in 20-24 and in 27 to offer further evidence. We find instances of this same defect in II. 14-15, and in VIII. 11; but in these two latter cases, the arguments are even more uncalled-for and remote from the subject.

Sometimes these additional proofs seem to have come to Augustine as after-thoughts. Varro's story about the sacred books of Numa in VII. 34-35 exemplifies this. After Augustine has finished his argument that one God is to be worshipped instead of the many false gods of the pagans, he relates how, when the books were discovered in which Numa, under the influence of hydromancy, had written the causes of the sacred rites of the Romans, the Senate, instead of preserving them, ordered them to be burned. It adds little to the proof, and the argument would have been complete without it. The same is true of XIII. 24.

Again, Augustine occasionally goes out of his way to answer objections. If these objections are reasonable and suggest themselves naturally, they do not mar the plan, but we have examples of exaggerated difficulties that it seems a waste of time

to discuss. In XII. 12, after treating of the origin of the world, Augustine endeavors to answer those who ask why man was not created at an earlier date. He himself recognizes the futility of such a debate, for he says that "no matter at what earlier or later period man had been created, this controversy about the commencement of the world's history would have precisely the same difficulties as it has now." V. 9-11 and XI. 22 are similar examples.

Books X. 21-32 is the longest continuous digression in the twenty-two books, covering as it does, about twenty-seven Teubner pages. It treats in general of the power demons possess over the human soul, and how they are to be overcome according to the Platonists' teaching, and how according to Christian tea-hing. It is certainly a digression from the main subject of the book (that good divinities desire latreia worship to be paid to God alone) and we have included it in this third class of defects, because Augustine seems to have intended it as an additional argument against the false gods. However, insofar as in it he explains Porphyry's doctrine concerning the purification of the soul, it belongs to the second class, and as it also instructs the Christians how to resist the wiles of evil spirits, it might have been placed in class I.

As we said, Augustine goes into useless details, and we have discussions which, if they were brief, would fit into the plan very well, but on account of their unnecessary length, become real defects, composing class IV. (II. 21, VIII. 24, XII. 16, XV. 10-15, XVI. 9-12, XIX. 12, XX. 13, 26, XXII. 8.) Probably the best example of this is in the last book, where, in chapter 8, the fact of miracles is offered as a proof of the divinity of Christ. To show that miracles are not a thing of the past, but are still obtained by those who pray with faith, Augustine relates in detail the occurrence of twenty-five miracles that had taken place in his own day, and had either been witnessed by himself personally or by some friend of his. The argument is good, and the number adds to its weight, but it does not pertain immediately to the subject, and it is decidedly too long. Another example is II. 21, where, after having discussed the corruption of morals in Rome in the preceding chapters, Augustine goes into detail about Cicero's opinion of the Roman state. This digression might also be classed in III,

as it is an additional argument after the proof is complete, but what is most irregular is its length.

While relating the history of the two cities from Adam to the Flood in XV, Augustine takes up the great age and gigantic stature of the Antediluvians in 10-15. This is not altogether irrelevant to the subject, and if one or two paragraphs only were devoted to it, would not seem a defect in the plan. But the discussion is spread out over fifteen Teubner pages. Other less striking examples that may be included in this class are VIII. 24, an explanation of the teaching of Hermes; XII. 16, an examination into the question as to whether or not God always had creatures over whom to exercise sovereignty; XVII. 9-12, a detailed commentary on the eighty-ninth psalm; XIX. 12, the story of the Giant Cacus; and XX. 13, 26, the interpretation of passages from Scripture.

The fifth class of defects consists of repetitions. (III. 8, IV. 15, 26, VI. 9, VIII. 12, IX. 6, 8, X. 15, XVI. 25, XIX. 21-24, XXII. 2, 10). These sometimes arise from the necessity of recalling something in a former book that pertains to the subject at hand, sometimes from a desire to give emphasis to a fact. They are not very frequent, and when they do occur, we find that usually new material is introduced together with the old, or that the matter is treated from a different point of view. For instance, in Book II chapter 8 ff. Augustine has discussed fully the immorality of the scenic plays, and the wickedness of gods who would demand such worship. He reverts to the subject several times again, notably in IV. 26, but here he inserts the story of Titus Latinus not given in II, which adds weight to the statement. In Book IX, chapter 8 repeats some of what was said in VIII. 14, 16 about Apuleius's opinion of the divinities, but whereas in VIII the main purpose is to explain the nature and rank of these divinities, the point stressed in IX is that they are no better than men.

Book XIX. 21-24 is a long digression (which might also be included in classes II and IV) concerning Cicero's *De Republica.* It repeats much of the material in II. 21, but on the whole, it views Cicero's work from a different angle. In II, the fact that Cicero recognized the corruption of morals at Rome is the principal theme, while in XIX, the argument that according to his definition there never was a Roman state, is

given prominence. Other repetitions of this nature are VI. 9 (of VI. 1 and of IV. 11) ; VIII. 12 (of the preceding chapters, especially 5) ; X. 15 (of 13) ; XIV. 8, 9 (of IX. 4, 5) ; XVI. 25 (of XV. 3) ; XXII. 2 (of XII. 14, 17) and 10 (of X. 12 and XI. 15, 16). Also III. 8 (of I. 3) and IV. 15 (of 3) which have already been mentioned as defects in class II. Slight repetitions, such as XII. 14 (of XI. 4) are not noted.

Finally, St. Augustine betrays a fondness for determining the inner meaning of words and the symbolical signification of numbers. (X. 1, XI. 18, 30-31, XII. 17, 19, 20, XIII. 11, 24, XIV. 7, XV. 20, XVI. 4, 5, 6.) Usually digressions of this sort are short, but we find a few that are long enough to be defects in the plan, and these may be divided into three groups. The first group deals with numbers. XI. 30, 31, treat of the perfection of the numbers 6 and 7; XV. 20, of the significance of the number 11; and XII. 19 of the infinity of numbers taken collectively. None of these chapters contribute anything to the argument, and they seem to be simply pious reflections of the saint. The second group contains the meanings of words. X. 1 gives the derivation of *latreia* and *religio;* XIII. 11 has, at the end, an interesting note on *mortuus est;* XIV. 7 makes a distinction between *amor* and *dilectio* as used in Scripture. The third group treats of the meaning of terms: XI. 18 of *antithesis;* XII. 17 of *the eternal times;* XII 20 of *ages of ages;* XIV. 4 of *caro,* flesh; and XVI. 4, 5, 6, of certain passages in Genesis. These explanations help in some cases to make matters clear, but they are unnecessarily detailed and somewhat forced. Besides those mentioned, there are a few others of the same class, but too brief to be considered defects in the plan: XI. 11, XII. 2, XIII. 24, XIV. 8, XVII. 6, XXII. 5.

In looking over these six classes and also by referring to the table, we notice that although each book taken as a whole conforms to the general plan, some of these books are in themselves much less regularly constructed than others. In Book X more than half is marked as marring the plan, and in XI. XIII. and XXII. about one-third; while on the others hardly there is hardly any deviation at all in Books III. XX. and XXI. We may also note that, as a rule, at the beginning of a book St. Augustine conscientiously takes up the subject to be treated

according to the plan, and it is towards the middle and end
that most of the digressions occur.

In Book IV Augustine goes into unnecessary details concern-
ing the different pagan gods, but their very multitude helps
to make their weakness more evident; in V. 12, he explains
why he has discussed the matter so fully. The apparent con-
tradiction regarding the subject-matter of Books IV and V
(mentioned above in this article) may be explained thus:
Augustine intended to prove in IV, first that the extent of the
Roman empire was not due to the false gods, and second that
the one true God granted it to the Romans as a reward perhaps
for their natural virtues. However, he went into such detail
proving his first point, that he felt it necessary to defer the
treatment of the second to another book.

We may conclude then, that on the whole St. Augustine
follows his original plan in its broad outlines. However, he
diverges from his subject to discuss matters only loosely con-
nected with it, whenever some plausible reason urges him to
do so. Sometimes these digressions are almost unconscious,
and result from St. Augustine's vast erudition, or from his
zeal for the spiritual welfare of his readers. But no matter
how far he wanders from his subject, he returns bye and bye,
and takes up the thread just where it was broken off.

This conclusion agrees in general with what Rickaby and
Bardenhewer have written of the plan of the *City of God* (cf.
note 2). If Schanz, when he calls it "eine Sammlung von
Essays," means a collection of *connected* essays, with a definite
plan, the *City of God* may be justly characterized thus. De
Labriolle's remark that the *City of God* "n'était à l'origine
qu'un écrit de circonstance ou de polémique," and Weldon's
statement that "the *De Civitate Dei* did not in its execution
wholly correspond with its original design" seem to us to be
rather vague, and open to misunderstanding. Augustine's first
incentive was without doubt to write a refutation of the charges
made against the Christian religion. He began this defense of
Christianity by attacking paganism and the State representing
paganism, and so the first ten books are destructive. With this
accomplished, the natural inclination was to present Christianity,
and the ideal Christian or spiritual state, and so the last twelve
books are constructive. However, it is quite evident from a

passage already quoted (Book I. 35, quoted above in this article) that Augustine had conceived this constructive treatise before he actually commenced to write his work, although it may not have occurred to him when he first decided to repudiate the charges against the Christian faith. Furthermore, judging from what they say later in their discussions, both De Labriolle and Weldon seem to have this in mind, although they do not definitely say so.

There is then clearly no essential difference between Augustine's proposed plan and his completed work. It is true that minor points were changed as the structure grew, but the framework remained as St. Augustine conceived it before he entered upon his monumental task.

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DRAVIDIAN RESEARCHES.[1]

1. Sounds and symbols.

Long experience has shown that subscript dots lack legibility; that if they are set properly at first, they often disappear in the course of printing; and that where they are really printed, they may be too small to be readily seen: a fault painfully illustrated in Bloch's Formation de la langue marathe, where the tiny dot of *l̩*, a much-used letter, almost calls for a magnifying glass.

I here use a prefixt dot to mark reverted linguals: *.t .d .n .s .z .l .r*. The other series of consonant-symbols are labial *p b m f v w*; dental or alveolar *t d n θ δ s z š ž l r ř* (palatalized); prepalatal *c* (Bohemian ᴛ') *ζ* (Bohemian ᴅ') *ñ* (Spanish Ñ) *ç* (German ᴄʜ in ᴇᴄʜᴛ) *j* (German ᴊ) *λ* (Portuguese ʟʜ); postpalatal or velar *k g η x γ*; glottal *ı* (occlusive) and *h*. Special symbols for voiceless sounds are supplied by capitals, as *N L R*. The glottalized occlusives of Kolarian are written *'k 'c 't 'p*.

Brâhui *f* and *v* are said to be labiodental; in the other Dravidian tongues *v* seems to be commonly bilabial, or both bilabial and labiodental indifferently, so the letter *v* must be understood to have either value. In dealing with the literary languages, I use *c* and *ζ* as transliterative symbols for the ancient simple sounds: modern speech regularly has instead affricates resembling those of English ᴄʜᴀʀɢᴇ. In spoken Telugu these affricates have become *ts* and *dz* before non-palatal vowels.

Tamil is here transliterated in accord with native spelling, which represents all occlusives as being voiceless. Spoken Tamil

[1] References:

AJPh: American Journal of Philology.

BSOS: Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies.

GC: An Elementary Grammar of the Coorg Language by R. A. Cole (1867).

GK: A Grammar of the Kui Language by W. W. Winfield (1928).

GTl: A Grammar of the Tuḷu Language by J. Brigel (1872).

KL: A Grammar of the Kannaḍa Language by F. Kittel (1903).

PGT: A Progressive Grammar of the Telugu Language by A. H. Arden (1905).

TlD: Tuḷu-English Dictionary by A. Männer (1886).

has a fricative, varying from *s* almost to *ç*, for a single *c* between vowels or at the beginning of a word. Otherwise a simple Tamil occlusive-symbol now corresponds to a voiced sound between voiced sounds; between vowels the sounds are said to be commonly fricative—δ for *d* written as *t*, and *γ* or even *h* for *g* written as *k*. Spoken Tamil has alveolar *ndr* for written *nR*, and alveolar *tt* or *ttr* for written *RR*; intervocalic *R* has become voiced but is more strongly trilled than ordinary *r*; before a consonant either *t* or *r* may be used for written *R*. Modern Kanara and Telugu have *r* for older *R*.

The letter *ę* means a very open sound resembling our A in HAT, and *ǫ* is like our AW; *ë* is like the E of BAKERY; *ï* stands for a vowel apparently similar to Rumanian Î; *ä* in theoretic forms represents vowels of unknown quality; a grave accent marks uncertain or variable length.

2. Tulu and Kodagu.

The well-known main divisions of Dravidian speech are northwestern Brâhui, northeastern Kurukh-Malto, central Gôndi-Kui, southeastern Telugu, southwestern Kanara-Tamil, and Tulu. The last of these is spoken near the southern end of the Kanara region, but its linguistic position does not agree with its place on the map. The three dialects of Tulu are markt by the word-forms *hū-* = *sū-* = *tū-* (see), according to Männer (TlD). If it is right to connect these words with the equivalent Kanara *nō.d-*, Gôndi *hu.d-*, *hu.r-*, Kui *sū.d-*, *sū.r-*, Telugu *cūc-* (< **tū.dc-*), apparently derived from a root **snu.d* which became **sNu.d* outside of Kanara-Tamil, it seems clear that the likenesses can hardly be accidental: Tulu was formerly in contact with Gôndi-Kui, and probably also with Telugu, from which it is now separated by Kanara territory.

The Tulu change of *dr* or *.dr* to *dž*, as in *ādži* (six), *vondži* (one), beside Tamil *āRu* < **.saträ* and *onRu* < **o.n.trä* < **oro.n.t*, allows us to assume a Tulu development of **waŋkialrä* thru **bandžedži* to *bandži* (belly, heart, inside). The ⸱⸱⸱⸱⸱ ⸱⸱⸱⸱⸱ **waŋkialrä* ⸱⸱ ⸱⸱⸱⸱⸱⸱⸱⸱⸱⸱ ⸱⸱ ⸱⸱⸱⸱⸱⸱ ⸱⸱⸱⸱⸱⸱ ⸱⸱⸱⸱⸱⸱ ⸱, with *r* as in *sōr-* ⸱⸱Tamil *āṟu* (six), and by Kui *raŋgosi* (tongue) < **waŋkorci* < **waŋkortia* < **waŋkialro*, with *s* as in *su-* ⸱⸱Tamil *ca-* (die); whereas a form **u.u.trä* < **Trälkalr-*,

without a nasal, is the source of Kanara *basiR* later *basuru* and Tamil *vajiRu* (belly). Kui shares with Tulu the change of *r* to *ž*: Kui *mùndži* and Tulu *mūdži* correspond to Gôndi *mū.n.d*, Telugu *mū.du*, Kanara *mūRu*, Tamil *mūnRu* < **muträ* (three).

Tulu commonly changes a simple *l* to *r*: *kār* (foot) == Gôndi *kāl*, Telugu *kālu*, Kanara *kāl* later *kālu*, Tamil *kāl*; *tarẹ* (head) == Gôndi *talā*, Kui *tlàu*, Telugu *tala*, Kanara *tale*, Tamil *talai* < **talas* (BSOS 1928 4. 770, AJPh 1928 49. 340); *pēr* (milk) == Brâhui *pā.L*, Gôndi *pāl*, Telugu *pālu*, Kanara *pāl* later *hālu*, Tamil *pāl*. Kui has *.d* for *l* following a vowel: *kā.du* (foot), *pā.du* (milk). These similar alterations of *l*, lacking general parallels in the other Dravidian tongues, may imply a fairly recent close connection of Tulu with Kui.

As the result of stress-displacement Gôndi has lost the interrogative vowels, and has the interrogative-basis *b-*, corresponding to Kui *imb-, emb-, omb-, umb-*. In Kui the five vowels, *i- e- a- o- u-*, are used as interrogative-bases. Tulu has interrogatives from the *e*-basis, and also from the *o*-basis. The *o*-interrogatives have direct parallels in Kui alone; their nearest kindred in southern Dravidian seem to be the rare *o*-demonstratives of Kanara, *ō.tu* and *ōsu* (so much).

Tulu has *ār* < **ahar* (those) without a hiatus-filler; Kui has *aaru* < **ahar*, beside the variant *avaru*, with an unsettled *v* indicating a late addition of the hiatus-filler; Gôndi has *ō.r* < **awar* < **ahar* corresponding to the developments found in southern Dravidian outside of Tulu: Telugu *vāru* < **awar* < **ahar*; Kanara *avar*, Tamil *avar*.

Tulu has *ī* < **īs* (you); Kui has *īnu* for **īu* < **īsu* < **īs*, with the ending of *ānu* (I), but without initial *n*; early Telugu has *ivu* < **īsu* < **īs*; but in preliterary Kanara-Tamil the nominative **ī* became *nī* under the influence of the general stem, as seen in the genitive **nà* or *ni(n)na*, the dative **nakkä*, and the accusative **nasan* (BSOS 1928 4. 771, AJPh 1928 49. 339).

Gôndi distinguishes two simple past tenses, a preterit made with *tt* or *t* and an imperfect made with *d*. Similarly Tulu distinguishes *tūte* (he has seen) and *tūje* (he saw). This distinction must have once existed elsewhere, but it has been generally lost. Telugu has an aorist and Kanara and Tamil

have a single past tense corresponding in form to one of the Gôndi tenses.

In early Dravidian apparently verbs were formed from the demonstratives *i* and *a*, and from the interrogative *e*. They must have meant ' say this ', ' say that ' and ' say what '; but afterward the differences were lost and ' say ' became the general meaning. Kanara has two forms, *an-* and *en-*. Tamil has only *en-*, but a lost **an-* is represented in the causative *anupp-* (send = cause to say [a message]). Tulu has two forms, *an-* and *in-*, but the form *an-* may have been borrowed from Kanara, the literary language of the Tulu region. Gôndi and Kui have *in-*, in accord with the Tulu form differing from those of Kanara-Tamil.

With such agreements between Tulu and one or both of the central tongues, contrary to what is found in Kanara-Tamil, it is plain that the ancient geografic position of Tulu was nearly central, adjoining that of Gôndi-Kui.

In the fourth volume of the Linguistic Survey of India, Konow discusses various features that distinguish the Dravidian tongues, and puts Kodagu and Tulu wrongly in the middle of the Kanara-Tamil group. This mistake is repeated by Grierson in the recently printed portion of the first volume (1927). The sounds *d* and *l* in Kodagu *peda*, Tulu *pudar*, Kui *pada*, Gôndi *pa.rōl* < **polar* < **pudar* < **pitar* (name), beside derivatives of the palatal occlusive *c* in the equivalent Kanara *pesar* and Tamil *pejar* < **picar* < **pitar*, show that Kodagu and Tulu are outside of the Kanara-Tamil group. The change of **pitar* to **picar* seems to be a special feature of Kanara-Tamil, unless it is to be assumed for the Kurukh verb *pindž-* (name), which might represent **piñc-* < **pican* < **picar*, with *n* taken from Aryan *nāman*.

Tamil has *pēr* as a contraction of *pejar*. Telugu has *pēru* (name), but its history was different from that of the Tamil word. Telugu has *c* in *vacci* for **warci* (having come), beside *s* in *rest* for **kicci* (having done), anciene *c* was kept, and later changed to an affricate, after a consonant, but became a fricative between vowels. A Telugu change of **pitar* to **picar* would have given a form like Kanara *picar*, and perhaps later *s* as in *Tudar*, with vowel displacement, *r* in Telugu

vrēlu < *veral = Tamil *viral* (finger). •Telugu *mrōlu*, a variant of *modalu* = Tamil *mudal* (beginning), allows us to assume the development *pēru* < *prēr < *pedar < *pitar, with a dissimilative loss of *r*. Telugu *pedar represents the older form of Kodagu *peda*.

Brâhui uses -*ā* (the) as a suffix with attributive adjectives. The other Dravidian tongues have *a* or *ā* (that) as an ordinary adjective, except that in most varieties of Gôndi the corresponding pronoun is used instead. In Dravidian, as in English, two nouns may be combined with or without a genitive-ending. Apparently the oldest Dravidian genitive-ending is -*a* or -*ā*, representing the demonstrative just mentioned. In Kanara the genitive-ending is -*à*, -*dà*, -*na*, -*.na* or -*ra*. Kodagu has -*.da* and -*ra*: the form -*.da* stands for *-*.l.da* < *-*.lda*, generalized from *ava.da* < **ava.lda* (her) and the ordinary plural-ending -*a.da* < *-*a.lda*.

Much of the vocabulary of Kodagu is like that of Kanara or Tamil. In Kodagu *nānu* (I), acc. *jenna*, dat. *jenaki*, gen. *jē.da*, and *nīnu* (you), acc. *ninna*, dat. *ninaki*, gen. *nī.da* and *ninna.da*, we find forms similar to those of Kanara, aside from the genitives. Evidently *ninna.da* may be the Kanara genitive *ninna* combined with the Kodagu suffix. But *jē.da* and *nī.da* lack parallels in Kanara-Tamil.

The loss of final consonants is common in Kodagu, which has *peda* for *pedar, and *ava.l-*, nom. *ava* (she), *avan-*, nom. *avï* (he), *ibbar-*, nom. *ibba* (two persons), corresponding to Tamil *ava.l*, *avan*, *iruvar*. Kodagu *nānu* and *nīnu*, with some of their inflectional forms, were taken from Kanara. The older Kodagu words were probably *ē = Telugu *ēnu* (I), with the genitive *nē for *nā = Telugu *nā* < *ena; and *ī = Telugu *īvu* (you), with the genitive *nī = Telugu *nī* < *ini < *ina. The change of *ina to *nī*, a distinctive feature of Telugu and Gôndi-Kui (AJPh 1928 49. 341), led to the use of -*i* as a genitive-ending in Telugu and Kui. A differently directed influence of *nī, beside the nominative *ī, produced Kodagu *nē for *nā as the genitive of *ē. Kodagu *nī.da* is *nī with the usual ending added; *nē likewise became **nē.da*, and then *jē.da* under the influence of *jenna* and *jenaki*. Gôndi or Kui would explain Kodagu *nī.da*; and Kui might explain *peda*, but it would not

account for *jē.da*, unless we go back to the time when Kui had *ē* in *ānu* < **ēn* (I). Apparently the basis of Kodagu is Telugu.

Corresponding to Kanara *kī.r* and Tamil *kī.r* (under), Kodagu has *kī* and *kīda* (GC 20). We might try to explain *kī* as coming from *kī.r*, with the sound *.r* simply dropt because it is unknown in Kodagu. But it is hard to explain *kīda* from Kanara or Tamil; and as a native formation we should expect *-.da*, the common genitive-ending, instead of *-da*. Telugu has *kī* and *kinda* (under). Kodagu *kī* may be Telugu; *kīda* looks like a blend of the two Telugu forms.

3. Voicing.

Brâhui has *ēd* as a variant of *ē* (that) ; in the plural *ēfk*, *k* is the regular plural-ending of nouns. The history of the word *ē* is not known, but the endings of *ēd* and *ēfk* correspond to those of the Kanara equivalents *adu* and *avuga.l.* Kanara has *avu* as the older plural of *adu*, perhaps belonging to a period earlier than the distinction of adjectives and substantives (BSOS 1928 4. 771) ; *avuga.l* has taken on the ordinary plural-suffix of neuter nouns.

Brâhui and Kurukh-Malto seem to agree with the other Dravidian tongues in voicing (or not unvoicing) a simple occlusive after a nasal. But from Brâhui *bi.t-* (throw), *pōk* < **pōki* (lost) beside Kanara *bi.d-* (throw), *pōgi* < **pōki* (gone), and from Kurukh-Malto *ēk-* = Telugu *ēg-*, Tamil *ēk-* (go), it appears that the northernmost tongues lack the voicing of intervocalic occlusives which is regularly found in central and southern Dravidian, including Tamil as spoken tho not as written. The neuter-ending *-d*, kept in Brâhui with a loss of meaning, just as Latin case-endings are kept with a loss of function in French SON FILS < SVVM FILIVS, shows that final consonants do not generally become voiceless in Brâhui, as occlusives and fricatives commonly do in Catalan, Dutch, German and the Slavonic tongues. The *f* of Brâhui *xaf* (ear), beside *v* in Gôndi *kavī*, Telugu *cevi*, Kanara *kivi* (ear), is analogic, taken from the plural *xafk*, which has normal *f* for *v* before *k*; it agrees with *ēfk*. The normal Brâhui form of the singular would be **xau*, parallel with *kuloa* (message) beside the plural *kulavāk*.

From Kui *prau* < **prāsu* < **prās*, corresponding to Malay

bĕras (rice), we may perhaps infer a general unvoicing of occlu-
sives in ancient central Dravidian. If we can trust the evidence
of native spelling, all occlusives were voiceless in early Tamil.
Apparently preliterary Kanara shared with Tamil the unvoicing
of occlusives; but afterward simple occlusives became voiced
between voiced sounds, so that the basic voiced or voiceless
quality is hard to make out.   Tamil *kutirai* (horse) is pre-
sumably derived from *kuti-* (jump).   In Kanara *kudure*
(horse), as in the spoken form of Tamil *kutirai,* now pronounced
kudire(*i*) or *kuδire*(*i*), the former *t* has changed to a voiced
sound.   The old *t* of Kanara-Tamil, or of some other Dravidian
tongue which had voiceless occlusives between vowels, is kept
in the word-form *kurtā* (horse), found in Savara, a Kolarian
tongue which has also borrowed other Dravidian words.

From Brâhui *murū,* Gôndi *malōl,* Kui *mrā.du,* Telugu
kundēlu, Kanara *mola,* Tamil *mucal, mujal,* Kurukh *mūjā,*
Tulu *muger, mugger, mujer* (hare), we may infer a basic **midal.*
Brâhui has *ī* < **ēn* (I) ; apparently Brâhui likewise changed *ō*
to the closer vowel *ū* in *murū,* which looks like a loan-word from
Gôndi.   In Gôndi *malōl* < **molal* < **mudal* < **midal* we find
sound-changes similar to those of Gôndi *pa.rōl* < **polar*
ᵢ< **pudar* < **pitar* (name).   Kui has *i.du* or *i.d.du* corre-
sponding to Tamil *il* (house), and *ari* = Telugu *adi* (that) :
mṛā.du is a normal development from **midal,* with the stress-
displacement that is a common feature of central Dravidian.
Telugu probably formed **madēl* < **medal* < **midal,* parallel
with *vrēlu* < **veral* = Tamil *viral* (finger).   In *kundēlu*
< **kumadēl* the prefix may be connected with a lost equivalent
of Tamil *kuti-* (jump), now represented by Telugu *kudiñc-*
(shake up = cause to jump) ; the voicing of *k* to *g* in Telugu
gurramu (horse) could have come from the intervocalic position
in *nā *kutrà* (my horse), *nī *kutrà* (your horse).   For Kanara
we should expect **mosal* corresponding to the Tamil forms;
mola was constructed from the plural *molaga.l* < **molaka.l,*
which was taken from an earlier form of the Gôndi plural
malohk, perhaps **molahka.l.*   Gôndi is now spoken about a
hundred miles from the northern end of Kanara territory.
Kurukh *mūjā* seems to represent an ancient borrowing from
Tamil.   The loss of final consonants caused **asan* (he) and
*asa.l (she) to be confused in Kurukh, with the result that

the neuter *ād* was taken to express the feminine (BSOS 1928
4. 774) ; similarly *mūjā* has lost its final *l*.

The Tamil variation between *mujal* and *mucal* marks the
existence of two ancient dialects: one of them voiced *c* between
vowels, while the other changed *c* to an affricate early enough
for it to escape voicing. In Tamil *pejar* < **picar* < **pitar*
(name) and *mujal* < **mical* < **mital* < **midal*, the different
vowels may indicate differing stress, altho there is little or no
evidence of stress-displacement in early Kanara-Tamil; or per-
haps, since the forms *mujal* and *mucal* indicate two dialects,
we should assume that *pejar* represents a third ancient dialect.
From the common Tulu change of *l* to *r* it is clear that Tulu
mujer might be merely a naturalized form of the Tamil word.
But *muger* and *mugger* are native developments; they agree
with Tulu *avu* or *au* (that), the formal equivalent of Kanara
adu, in showing that ancient intervocalic *d* is lost in Tulu,
wheras ancient *t* has become *d* in Tulu *pudar* < **pitar* (name).
Beside hiatus-filling *v* < *w* in southern Dravidian we find also
g < *gw* < *w* and *gg* < *gw* < *w*: thus Telugu has *mūguru*,
muguru, *mugguru* (PGT 325), as variants of *mūvuru* = Tamil
mūvar < **muhar* (three persons). Apparently **midal* develupt
thru **muwal* or **muwar* to *mug(g)er* in Tulu, with hiatus-filling
w in the place of the lost *d*. Thus Tulu, probably alone among
the southern tongues, contains evidence of the ancient distinc-
tion between voiced and voiceless occlusives. Parallel evidence
is perhaps to be found, for central Dravidian, in Kui *pada*
< **pitar* (name) beside *mrā.du* < **midal;* but *pada* was
probably derived from **pitar* thru **prda*, and the retention of
d might be explained by the dissimilative influence of contact
with *r*, if **prda* was contemporary with the change of *d* to *r*
between vowels.

4. The past tense.

In Kurukh a past participle is made with *-kā*, as *eskā* from
es- (break). The corresponding past tense lacks *k* in the third
person, and in the feminine of the first person : 1 *eskan*, f. *esan*,
2 *eskai*, f. *iskī*, 3 *esas*, f. *esā*; plural 1 *eskam*, f. *esam*, 2 *eskar*,
f. *eskai*, 3 *esar*. f. *esai*. Instead of the glottal occlusive, a few
verbs have *i* or zero alternating with *k*, as in *anias* (he said)

beside *ānkan* (I said), *kēras* (he went) beside *kirkan* (I went). The *i*-suffix is sometimes given with *ij* or *j*, as *ānijas* or *ānjas*. Many verbs have an added suffix between the stem and the ordinary endings: *bartškan* from *bar-* (come) ; *xottkan* from *xos-* (dig into), with normal *tt* for *st*; *usskan* from *ui-* (plow). There seem to be three general forms of such suffixes : we may call them the *c*-suffix, which has become *tš* or *dž*; the *t*-suffix, which becomes *d* after *n*; and the *s*-suffix. In Brâhui, Gôndi-Kui and southern Dravidian we find *s* as a derivative of *c*, but evidence of such a change seems to be lacking in Kurukh-Malto, so the *s*-suffix can hardly be a variant of the *c*-suffix. The latter, however, may represent a palatalized form of the *t*-suffix. In *otškan* beside *hò-* (take) we find a remarkable stem-variation : apparently *h* was at first added to the emfatic imperative **o*, and later extended to the entire present-future stem. The same variation appears in *kh'è-* (die), with the past *kettškan*. If Kurukh *x* represents an ancient *k*, the *k* of the past-suffix may stand for older *g*, or for *kk*, which seems to escape the change to a fricative in Kurukh-Malto : Kurukh *mōx-* (eat) has the past *mokk(h)-*.

Malto verbs distinguish genders in the singular of the second and third.persons. If the transcriptions given in the Linguistic Survey are trustworthy, Malto has lost the glottal occlusive. Otherwise the Malto treatment of the past tense agrees closely with the Kurukh treatment. Malto has -*ken*, and often -*eken*, corresponding to Kurukh -*kan*. Probably Kurukh *usskan* came from something like **uřsekken* or **uřsegen*, *s* being kept because the contraction to *usskan* was later than the change of *st* to *tt* in *xottkan*.

Brâhui has a present participle in -*isa*, but is said to lack a past participle. The formant of the affirmative past is usually *ā* or *ē*, sometimes *s*, rarely *k* or *g*; the negative past has *t*. The *ā*-suffix probably corresponds to the *ā* of the Kurukh third person; *ē* may be a contraction of *ia*, as found in Kurukh *ānias* and other verbs. The *s*-suffix is derived from *c* in *kask-* (died), *bass-* (came), *tiss-* (gave), *mass-* (became) beside Kurukh *kettšk-*, *bartšk-*, *tšitšk-*, *mandžk-*, and in *ass-* (was) beside Gôndi *āsī* (been). The retention of suffixal *k* in *kask-* is explained by the Kurukh participle *kettškā*: the common use of

the word as an adjective favored the preservation of the *k.*
Aside from the words just mentioned, the Brâhui *s*-suffix com-
monly follows a weak vowel, as in *bisis-* from *bis-* (ripen) : it
may represent *c,* or ancient *s,* which seems to be kept between
vowels in Brâhui, as in Kurukh-Malto. The older use of *t* to
form the affirmative past, in accord with the other Dravidian
tongues, is shown by Brâhui *xutt-* (dig) < **khust-,* cognate
with Kurukh *xott-*: it is a past which has been taken for the
general verb-stem, like *lend* in English (for older *lene*).

In Kui the suffix of the past is commonly *t,* rarely *d* or *s;*
-i is added to form the past participle. Gôndi has an imperfect
formed with *d;* a preterit formed with *tt;* a past participle in
in *-tši, -dži, -si;* and another past participle, intransitive or
passive, in *-tal.* The participle in *-ī* may take a second suffix,
-kun; likewise *-tal* is a compound, its older element being *t,*
which is a common formant of the past participle in Kanara
and Tamil. Gôndi has the preterit *hatt-* (went) from *han-,*
beside the imperfect *hand-.* The suffix of the imperfect is
properly *d,* but the normal loss of *n* before *tt,* in *hatt-, itt-* from
in- (say), *titt-* from *tin-* (eat), and other commonly used verbs,
caused *nd* to be considered the general suffix of the imperfect,
and produced *kīnd-* from *kī-* (do), *guhand-* from *guh-* (seize),
vānd- from *va-* (come), beside the preterits *kīt-, guht-, vāt-,*
where *t* has replaced *tt* after a consonant or a long vowel.
Gôndi verb-stems ending in *n* have extended the *d* of the imper-
fect to the present, the future and the infinitive. In many verbs
the *tt* or *t* of the preterit may be added to the entire stem, as in
nitt-, a variant of *nil-* == Tamil *nil-* (stand), and likewise in
tatt- (bring) except for the stem of the imperative and of the
negative, *ta.r-* == Kanara *tàr-.* Gôndi *nitt-* (< **niltt-*) is the
formal equivalent of the Telugu aorist *nilut-,* where *tt* has
become *t* after a weak vowel.

Brigel divides Tulu verbs into six conjugations (GTl), repre-
sented as having the following suffixes of the imperfect and
perfect in the masculine singular of the third person: (1) *-te*
and *-ïïde,* (2) *-de* and *-ïde,* (3) *-ie* and *-de.* (4) *-ie* and *-le.*
(5) *-ee* and *-ie,* (6) *-ije* and *-ie.* Tulu is rather closely con-
nected with Gôndi-Kui, but has long been under the influence
of Kanara, the literary language of the Tulu region. It has lost
checking nasals except after a main-strest short vowel, so the

distinction of *d* and *t* in the 5th class may•be said to agree with
a Gôndi distinction of *nd* and *t*. The 4th and 6th classes like-
wise have *t* in the perfect; the *j* or *ij* of the imperfect corre-
sponds to a past participle in -*i*, presumably connected with the
i-participle of Kui. The forms of the other three classes seem
to show a confusion of the tense-suffixes. In the 1st class the
perfect is evidently a new formation made by adding one suffix
to the other.

Telugu has a past participle in -*i*, from which the stem of
the past tense is made by adding *t* ($<$ *tt*) ; and an aorist made
with *d* or *t,* corresponding in form to the past tenses of Gôndi.
Many verbs have a past participle in -*ci* or -*si* (with *s* $<$ *c*),
and its added consonant is extended to various forms belonging
to the present.

In Tamil the past participle, forming the basis of the past
tense, is commonly made by adding -*i* or a *t*-suffix (-*tu, -ttu,
-ntu*), rarely by doubling the last consonant of a stem. Where
the past participle ends in -*i*, the consonant *n* is added before
the endings of the past tense. The Kanàra formations are
mostly parallel with those of Tamil, except that *d* is added
instead of *n* after -*i*. As the result of normal sound-changes
Kanara generally has *d* where Tamil (as written) has *nt* or *t*
between vowels; Kanara has *nd* after a main-strest short vowel.
The doubling of a stem-consonant seems to represent two historic
developments. It is found in connection with *k* (*g*) or a con-
sonant made with the tip of the tongue, in both languages. In
Kanara *nakku* = Tamil *nakku* (having laught), beside the
stems Kanara *nag-* = Tamil *nak-*, the suffix seems to be a *k*
corresponding to the northern *k*-suffix of the past mentioned
above. With other sounds the doubling probably came from
assimilation of a *t* or *d*. Thus in Kanara *i.t.tu* (having put)
beside the stem *i.d-* $<$ **i.t-*, we see the usual Dravidian adapta-
tion of a dental to a reverted lingual. In Kanara *eccu* (having
thrown), with the general stem *is-* $<$ **ic-*, we may assume
ecc- $<$ **icc-* $<$ **itt-* and **ic-* $<$ **it-*, *t* being palatalized by *i* as
in *pesar* $<$ **picar* $<$ **pitar* (name). If the Kanara form *tavu-
tappu* (having ended) is rightly quoted (KL 102), it is pre-
sumably an analogic innovation; no other verb with a final labial
admits doubling in Kanara or Tamil.

The *k*-suffix of the past, found in the northernmost tongues, is not properly a tense-mark. In Kui the ending of the infinitive is *-pa, -ba, -va* or *-a*. From Winfield's account of Kui (GK) we learn that most verbs form a derivative indicating multiple or repeated action: I will call it the multiplex. It is generally made, where the infinitive-ending is *-a*, by adding *k* to the verb-stem; and where the infinitive-ending includes a labial, by adding that labial; a few verbs take a double suffix *pk*. Examples are *kūr-* (fall), with the infinitive *kūra*, having the multiplex *kūrk-*, with the infinitive *kūrka*; *ves-* (speak), with the infinitive *vespa*, having the multiplex *vesp-*, with the infinitive *vespa*. Every infinitive in *-pa* or *-ba* or *-va* belongs, as a matter of form, to a multiplex-stem. This is natural enough, since an infinitive commonly does (or may) include the sense of multiple or repeated action. The *k*-suffix of the past, in northern Dravidian, is evidently a mark of the multiplex; but it happened to go out of use except in the past, and thus has become a tense-suffix. In Gôndi the participial suffix *-kun*, mentioned above, is perhaps a remnant of the multiplex. In Kanara-Tamil the future tense is made with *p* or *b* or *v*, a multiplex-suffix which has, like the *k*-suffix of the northern tongues, gone out of use except for a single tense. In Tamil the labial-suffix of the future is replaced by *k* in the neuter of the third person: a puzzle which is explained by the equivalence of the *k*-suffix and the *p-b-v*-suffix as marks of the multiplex in Kui. An older state of affairs is seen in Kanara, where the suffix *-ku* or *-gu* (earlier *-kum* or *-gum*) is used for the third person without any distinction of tense (KL 146). In Tamil the infinitive-ending is sometimes *-a* and sometimes *-ka*: like its Kui equivalent, it may exclude or include the mark of the multiplex.

The Kurukh-Malto treatment of verb-forms is sufficiently illustrated above. For the other languages examples will make clearer the foregoing statement of general principles.

Brâhui *tix-* (put), present *tixi-*, future *tixō-*, past *tixā-*, negative present-future *tixp(a)-*, negative past *tixta-*. The suffix of the negative is properly *a* ($<$ *m*), but it has disappeared from a few forms of the present-future tenses, where *p* is our historic formant of the multiplex. Similarly *bis-* (ripen), *bisi-*, *bisō-*, *bisis-*, *bisp(a)-*, *bista-*; *ka-* (die), *kahā-*, *kahō-*, *kash*, *kasn(a)* .

kasta-, with the *s* of the past added to the negative. The lost past participle is represented by *pōk* (lost) = Kanara *pōgi* < *pōki* (gone).

Gôndi *kī-* (do), imperfect *kīnd-*, preterit *kīt-*, past participle *kīsī(kun)*, passive particíple *kītal*. Kui *gi-* (do), past *git-*, attributive past participle *giti*, infinitive *giva*; multiplex *gipk-*, past *gipkit-*, attributive past participle *gipkiti*, infinitive *gipka*.

Telugu *cēj-* (do), aorist *cējud-unu* or *cēt-unu*, past *cēs(i)t-ini*, past participle *cēsi*; *kon-*,< **ko.n-* (buy), aorist *kon(u)d-unu* or *ko.n.d-unu*, past *konit-ini* or *ko.n.t-ini*, past participle *koni*, present *kon(u)cunn-ānu*, present participle *kon(u)cunu*, attributive present participle *kon(u)cunna*, abstract noun *konu.ta* or *ko.n.ta*; *nil-* (stand), aorist *nilut-unu*, past participle *nilici*, present *nilucucunn-ānu*, present participle *nilucucunu*, attributive present participle *nilucucunna*, abstract noun *nilucu.ta*. The *c* of the past participle *nilici* has been added to the forms of the affirmative present, making the apparent stem *niluc-*, except for the infinitive and the imperative.

Tulu *tū-* (see), imperfect *tūj-*, perfect *tūt-*, past participle *tūji*; *būr-* (fall), imperfect *būrij-*, perfect *būrud-*, past participle *būri*.

Kanara *ir-* (be), past *ird-*, past participle *irdu*, future *irp-*, indefinite third person *irku(m)*; *gej-* (do), past *gejd-*, past participle *gejdu*, future *gejv-*; *nil-* (stand), past *nind-*, future *nilv-*; *nō.d-* (look at), past *nō.did-*, past participle *nō.di*, future *nō.duv-* or *nō.rp-*, with normal *.r* for *.d* before a consonant. Tamil *ir-* (be), past *irunt-*, past participle *iruntu*, infinitive *irukka*, future *irupp-*, with *irukkum* as the neuter of the third person; *cej-* (do), past *cejt-*, future *cejv-*; *nil-* (stand), past *ninR-* < **nilnt-*, infinitive *niRka*, future *niRp-*; *nōkk-* < **nō.dg-* (look at), past *nōkkin-*, past participle *nōkki*, infinitive *nōkka*, future *nōkkuv-*.

From the foregoing it appears that early Dravidian had past participles in **-i*, **-si*, **-ci*; the formant of the imperfect was *t* (< *d*?), which was doubled to express a more limited past or perfect. In the northernmost tongues a loss of final *i*, as seen in Brâhui *xaf* beside Gôndi *kavī* (ear), caused *s* and *c* to become formal equivalents of *t*. Elsewhere the general loss of medial *s* reduced the three participial suffixes to two. Telugu is remark-

able in keeping both -*i* ånd -*ci*. Gôndi has -*tšī*, -*dži*, -*sī*, repre-
senting *-*cì* as modified by preceding sounds. Kui has -*i* nearly
always, -*si* < *-*cì* being restricted to the few verbs that have
adopted *s* as the suffix of the past tense. The southernmost
tongues, Kanara, Tamil and Tulu, have lost *-*cì*; the -*tšu* of
the spoken Tamil past tense is unconnected, being merely a
palatalized variant of the neuter ending -*ttatu* after *i*, parallel
with ancient *picar* < *pitar* (name). Gôndi alone keeps up the
historic formal distinction of two past tenses; Tulu keeps the
distinction of meaning, but shows confusions of form.

The Telugu aorist, corresponding in form to the past of the
other languages, is commonly translated ' would ――― ' or
' might ――― '. This change of meaning has a close parallel
in Spanish, where the old pluperfect has become a past future
(DIERA = DARÍA) and subjunctive past (DIERA = DIESE).

5. Dravidian *ke*.

Brâhui *ka*-, Kurukh *khè*-, *ke*-, Malto *kei*-, *kej*-, Gôndi *sai*-,
sā-, Kui *sā*-, Telugu *cà*-, Tulu *sai*-, Kanara *sāj*-, *sà*-, Tamil *cā*-,
ce-, Kodagu *tšà*- (die).

The oldest of these forms seems to be *kei*-, *kej*-, or *ke*-.
Kurukh has added *h* to the stem of the present and future,
probably in analogy with the variable *hò*-, *o*-, explained above.
Brâhui has normal *a* for *e*, as in *ant* = Tamil *enatt*- (what).
Before vowel-suffixes the Brâhui stem becomes *kah*-: it is not
clear whether the *h*—an extremely unstable sound in Brâhui—
is a mere hiatus-filler or represents *sn* as found in the dialectal
variant *kasn*-; Brâhui has initial *h* for *sn* in *hur*- (see) from
the root *snu.d*. Outside of Brâhui and Kurukh-Malto the
verb changed to *kie*-, *kiā*-: these forms are kept in Savara, the
Kolarian tongue mentioned above. The change of a lengthened
e to *ā* is common in Dravidian, the lengthened nominative from
the *en*-basis making Gôndi *anā* (< *ēnēn*), Kui *ānu*, Tulu *jān*,
Kanara *ānu*, Tamil *jān* (I).

The forms with vowel-breaking are represented by Tamil *ce*-,
ᶜ ᵎ ᵎ Tamil has the past *cen-en*, the past participle *cetta*, and
ᶜ ᵃ elsewhere. In Tamil *cak*-, used before vowel-suffixes, *k* is
derived from hiatus-filling *g* < *gw* < *w*, as in *mākku* — Malto
muso (nose), where the doubling seems to have come from

end-position (*mūkk* < **mūk* < **mugä* $\overset{\bullet}{<}$ **muwä* < **musä*). In
Gôndi, Kui, Tulu, Kanara, former initial *c* has regularly be-
come *s*. Gôndi has *sai-* before vowels, *sā-* before consonants,
and similarly Kanara has *sāv-* as a variant of the future *sājv-*.
In Telugu and Kanara the influence of forms with *ā* has altered
e to *a*: Telugu has the past participle *cacci* for **cecci* corre-
sponding to Kurukh *ketts̆-*, and the aorist *catt-unu* for **cett-
unu* = Tamil *cett-ēn*; Kanara has *satt-* for older **cett-* = Tamil
cett-. Kodagu has *a* likewise in the past *ts̆att-*, apparently taken
from Kanara; its irregular imperative *ts̆a.l-* has borrowed *.l*
from *bā.l-* (live).

In most of the Kolarian tongues, except Savara, we find *go'c*
(dead) or something similar; the isolated Kurku of central
India has *gōen*. From forms used in other Austric tongues, it
appears that the root was **et* or **it*, which became **goit* by
combination with a prefix in Kolarian. Initial consonants seem
to be free from changes of voicing in Kolarian. If Kolarian
*goit or any other *g*-form was the source of the Dravidian verb,
it would seem to imply for early Dravidian in general a con-
dition like that of modern Tamil, which lacks initial voiced
occlusives in the isolated form of native words.

The initial consonant of **ke* differs from that of Brâhui *xaf*,
Kurukh *xebdā*, Malto *xeδvu*, Gôndi *kavī*, Kui *kriu, kiru*, Telugu
cevi, Tulu *kebi*, Kanara *kivi*, Tamil *kātu* (ear), of Brâhui *xan*,
Kurukh *xann*, Malto *xanu*, Gôndi *kan*, Kui *kanu*, Telugu *kannu*,
Tulu *ka.n.nï*, Kanara *ka.n(.nu)*, Tamil *ka.n* (eye), and of
Brâhui *xal*, Kanara *kal(lu)*, Tamil *kal* (stone). The nearer
source of the northern *x* is presumably *kh*; a further source
might be *gh*. Singhalese has, like most or all of the Dravidian
tongues, lost the ancient aspiration of occlusives, so that Dra-
vidian **khal* and Singhalese *gala* (rock) may have the same
basis, **ghal*.

6. Dravidian **ätai, **äti*.

Kurukh *tai-*, Malto *tei-, tej-* (send), Brâhui *at-*, Gôndi *ta-*,
Kui *ta-*, Telugu *tè-*, Kanara *tà-* (bring), Tamil *tà-* (give);
Brâhui *ti-*, Kurukh *ts̆i-*, Malto *ts̆i-*, Gôndi *sī-*, Kui *sī-*, Telugu *i-*,
Kanara *i-*, Tamil *ī-* (give).

Kurukh has the adverbs *ajjā* (there), *ijjā* (here), corre-
sponding to the demonstrative adjectives *ā* and *ī*. If these or

similar words were combined with **ät*, slight sound-changes could have produced the verbs in the list given here, having the apparent bases **ätai* and **äti.* In Brâhui, aside from the past *ēs-*, which might have come thru **ēts-* from **ätaic-* or **ätais-*, we find *ata-*, *ati-*, as variants of *at-*: the oldest of the three forms is probably *ata-*. The meaning of Tamil *tà-* (give) may have develop under the influence of Aryan *da-*, which would have necessarily become *ta-* in ancient Tamilian utterance. It is true that Kanara *tà-* sometimes means 'give' also; but preliterary Kanara probably shared with Tamil the general unvoicing of occlusives, so that the Aryan word, mispronounced with *t*, could have influenced both languages.

Brâhui *ti-* has the present *ēti-*, with a parallel imperative *ēte*: these forms may have come from **äti*, with a stress differing from that which produced *ti-*. Kurukh has *tšitts̆* corresponding to Gôndi *kis*, Kanara *kiccu* (fire). We should expect **kitts̆*: apparently **kiccä* became **ciccä* by assimilation. Likewise Kurukh has *tšittškan* (I gave) for **tittškan*: **ticc-* became **cicc-*, and produced **ci-* for **ti-*, so that the Kurukh stem is now *tši-*. The same development produced Malto *tši-*. In Gôndi-Kui the past participle **tici* became **cici* by assimilation and changed the general stem to **ci-*, which has develop normally to *si-*. Gôndi keeps *sisi* < **cici*; Kui has lost it, having *sit-* as the past of *si-*. Savara, a Kolarian tongue, has borrowed *ti-* (give): it was perhaps taken from Kui before the initial *t* was changed to *c*.

In southern Dravidian apparently the imperfect **itid-* or **itit-*, with the first vowel assimilated to the second if they were originally different, contracted to *itt-*, which had the form of a perfect and produced the general stem *i-*. Kanara has the past *itt-*; Telugu has the aorist *itt-*, and a parallel past participle *icci*, which may be a contraction of an ancient **itici*. Tamil has changed the past to *int-*, probably under the influence of *tant-* (gave). Telugu shows many lines of connection with Gôndi and Kui, but the development of **äti* separates it from them and puts it beside Kanara-Tamil. Tulu seems to have ꞏ ꞏ ꞏ, the ba ꞏ of ꞏꞏ ꞏ ꞏ (ꞏꞏꞏꞏ ꞏ ꞏꞏꞏꞏ) ꞏꞏꞏ ꞏꞏꞏ been taken from Kanara.

From Winfield's work (GK) we learn that Kui verb-stems take a special suffix if the object of the verb is ꞏ me ꞏ or ꞏ us ꞏ

or 'you'. The simplest form of the suffix is *a*; a presumably older one is *ara*. The *r*-suffix is partially attacht to Tamil *tà-* and several of the verbs meaning 'bring' in the list given above. Bràhui has *atar-* for *ata-* before vowel-suffixes. Gôndi has *ta.r-* in the imperative and negative, *.r* being the normal representative of ancient *r* after a vowel: Gôndi *ma.rā* = Tamil *maram* (tree). Telugu has *tē-*, with the variant *tēr-*, in the infinitive, imperative and negative. Kanara has the future *tarp-*; the imperative *tā(ra)*, plural *tarri*; and the negative *tàr-*. Tamil *tà-* has the past *tant-*, and the imperative *tā*, plural *tārum*; otherwise the stem is *tar-*, not only for the future and negative, but also for the present. Tulu has *r* in the causative *tarpā-*. And Bràhui changes *ti-* to *tir-* before vowel-suffixes.

7. Dravidian **po*.

Bràhui *pōk* (lost), Kurukh-Malto *pol-* (be unable), Telugu *pō-*, *pa-*, Tulu *pō-*, Kanara *pō-* later *hō-*, Tamil *pō-* (go).

Some of the Kolarian tongues have a verb *sīn-*, *sēn-*, *šēn-* (go), apparently derived from **sīn*, and the same root is represented in Dravidian: Bràhui *hin-*, Gôndi *han-*, Kui *sal-* (go). The more general Dravidian word is **po*. Its meaning is somewhat changed in the northern tongues; the *l* of *pol-* is a negative-suffix. Telugu has *po-*, *pa-*, as variants of the usual *pō-*, in the imperative. Kurku, a Kolarian tongue, has *bǫ-* (go), evidently borrowed from Dravidian. This word, used in a language containing few Dravidian elements, was probably based on the Dravidian imperative, and seems to imply a form with initial *b* as the older Dravidian basis. In that case we have further evidence of a general unvoicing of initial occlusives in early Dravidian, corroborating the slender evidence of **ke*.

Modern Kanara commonly has *h* for older *p* not in contact with a consonant. This development was apparently connected with the Kanara change of initial *v* to *b*. In early Kanara probably all occlusives were voiceless, as in Tamil. When initial *v* changed to *b*, the difference between *b* and *p* became distinctive in certain word-forms. In order to make the difference clearer, many persons strengthened *p* to *ph*, which later developt thru *f* to *h*. A spread of the use of *h* made it so general that it was finally adopted in literary Kanara. It is noteworthy that the

neighboring Marâti, as spoken, has f corresponding to written *ph*: a development perhaps connected with the Kanara formation of f from *ph*, just as the change of f to h in Gascon and Spanish seems to be connected with the general absence of f in Bask.

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ON THE DECLENSION OF SUBSTANTIVE COMPOUNDS IN LITHUANIAN.

In his grammar of the Lithuanian language [1] Schleicher makes the statement that all compounds, whatever may have been the declension of their final component as a simple word, are declined as contracted *-jā*-stems (masc. *-is* or, if accented, *-ỹs*, fem. *-ė*). Excepted are only the compounds with *ne* "not", as *nepríetelius* "not-friend", "enemy", and the two *-i*-stems *viẽšpats* "Sovereign Lord" (**viešìs* "guest": [2] *pàts* from *patìs*, originally "lord", "master", now = "self") and *prýširdìs* "region about the heart", "breast" (*prý* "near": *širdìs* "heart"). Further investigations into this phase of the language, however, brought to light a continually increasing number of exceptions, until K. Buga was able to list several pages of them. [3] A number of these, to be sure, have variants, cited elsewhere, which are declined according to rule; e. g. *storlupà* (Buga) but *storlūpis* (KLD.) [4] "thick-lipped" and *darbýlaikas* (Buga) "work-period" (*dárbas: láikas*) but *darbýlaikis* (KDL.). In any case it is certain that the law of Schleicher, though not as absolute as' he supposed, is nevertheless of very general application. In my own collection of nearly three thousand compounds, about one-tenth, *including* the forms with variants mentioned above, stand out against the system.

Up until the present there have been two reasons suggested for the spread of the contracted *-jā*-stems among Lithuanian compounds. The one, propounded by Bezzenberger, [5] has to do with the word-rhythm and the effect upon the suffix when the primary accent is placed at some distance from the end of the word; while the other, advanced by Brugmann, [6] considers the

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[1] A. Schleicher, Handbuch der litauischen Sprache, Prag, 1856-1857, Bd. I: Litauische Grammatik, p. 132.

[2] Cf. E. Fraenkel, KZ. 50, 213 ff.

[3] K. Buga, Apie lietuvių asmens vardus. Lietuvių Tautos 2, pp. 4 ff.

[4] F. Kurschat, Wörterbuch der littauischen Sprache. Zweiter Teil: Littauisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch, Halle a. S., 1883. The first part, the Deutsch-Littauisches Wörterbuch, Halle, 1870, is cited here as KDL.

[5] Beiträge zur Geschichte der litauischen Sprache, Göttingen, 1877, pp. 103 ff.

[6] Grundriss 2, 1, p. 124.

possibility of the analogical extension of the IE. suffix *io*, employed in possessive compounds and in compounds with a governing preposition as the prior member, to all other classes of compounds. The former theory is, I believe, correct for certain types of compounds, but the discussion of it is confined to generalities; the assumption of Brugmann is, as will appear later, wholly unnecessary.

The older "real" (German "echt") or stem-compounds of the language, in which a noun or a verbal derivative (nomen agentis or nomen actionis) constituted the *second* member, were characterized by the retention, in its strong form, of the thematic vowel of the prior member or, as a "substitute", by a so-called composition vowel, usually *ā*. Schleicher was the first to notice that this composition vowel bore the primary accent of the compound.[7] A brief description of the nature of this phenomenon will be necessary here, inasmuch as it is closely connected with the declension of the compounds. Details will be found in J. Kremer's treatise, "Behandlung der Suffixe in der Fuge nominaler Zusammensetzung im Litauischen" in BB. 7, pp. 8 ff.

The thematic vowel of the masc. *-o*-stems and of the fem. *-ā*-stems is *a* or, for the latter, when they are used in the first position in composition, less frequently *ó* (cf. *pōnas* "master", *vasarà* "summer", *vasarólaukis* "summer-field"). Not only because the great majority of nouns or adjectives enter one of these two declensions but also because *a* represents the neutral position, the "Indifferenzlage", to which the organs of speech most naturally return,[8] it happens that *a* often occurs where it ought not to be expected, that is, when the prior member is not an *-o*-stem or an *-ā*-stem. Note *brolávaikis* "brother's child", also *brólvaikis* (*brólis: vaĩkas*), *bulváskutis* "potato-parer" (*bùlvė: skutù, skùsti*), *dàlgálankis* "handle of a scythe" (*dalgis: lañkis*), *karonávietė* "battle-field" (*karōnė: vietà*),

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[7] Ibid., p. 132. Schleicher maintained that a composition vowel appeared only when a noun was the *prior* member; cf., on the contrary, *ᵤᵤᵣₙₐₐᵤₙᵤₐₓ* (masc.) thorn-apple" (*dãrᵤᵤₛ* mad "). *ᵤₐᵣₙₒₖₐₐᵤₓ* "one who speaks madly," *jaunamartė* "bride" (*jaunà* f. "young"), *karᵤtmᵤₐᵢₓ* "the hot season" (*kárᵤtₐₛ* "hot"). *pikᵤāgrᵤₒᵤₓ* beside *pikᵤᵤᵤbᵤₛ* "a bad mushroom" (*pikᵤₒₛ* "bad").

[8] Kremer, BB. 7, 42 ff.

giedrāvilkis "cataract in the eye" (*giedrùs* "clear": *velkù, vilkti* "to draw"), *kailādaris* "furrier" (*káilis* "skin": *daraũ, darýti* "to make"), *karvāšudis* beside *kárvšudis* "cow-dung" (*kárvė: šúdas*), *kelnāpalaikės* pl. "worthless trousers" (*kélnės: palaĩkis*), *kryžākaulis* beside *krýžkaulis* "crotch-bone of cattle" (*krỹžius: káulas*), *turgāvietė* "market-place" (*tuȓgus: vietà*), *upāvietė* "river-bed" (*ùpė: vietà*). The *ō*, according to Kremer, may be a secondary lengthening of -*a*-,[9] as in *šiksnósparnis* "bat", literally "having leather wings" (*šiksnà* "leather": *spaȓnas* "wing"), it may represent a locative case, as in the example *vasarólaukis* quoted above,[10] or the *ō* of the same compound may have developed under the influence of the synonym *vasarójis*. This last is certainly true of -*y*- in *brangý-metis* "time of scarcity" (*brangùs* "dear", "costly": *mētas* "period", "year"), cf. *brangỹbė* "dearth", or in *darbýlaikis* "work-period" (*dárbas: láikas*), cf. *darbỹstė* "activity".[11] In other cases *y* is the lengthening of the thematic vowel of the -*i*-stems, as in *akýmirksnis* "twinkling of an eye", "minute" (*akìs: mìrksnis*). Often, however, *i* remains short (the form *akìmirksnis* also occurs); cf. in addition *akìratis* "circle of the vision", "horizon", and *avìkailis* "sheepskin" (*avìs: káilis*), while the *u* of the relatively few -*u*-stems is never lengthened, with the possible exception of *namūdarỹs* "architect" (KLD).[12] Cf. *alùdaris* "beer-brewer" (*alùs: daraũ, darýti*) and *viršùkalnis* "mountain-top" (*viršùs* "top": *kálnas* "mountain"). Even *ė*, the suffix of the fem. -*jā*-stems, often receives the accent and remains, although it may not have been stressed outside of composition. Cf. *saulétekis* "sunrise" (*sáulė: tekù, tekéti*), *seilétekis* beside *séiltekis* "flow of saliva" (*séilė: tekù, tekéti*),

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[9] Ibid., p. 37.

[10] If this be so, then *vasarólaukis*, since its prior member stands in a case form, is an "unreal" compound (German "unecht"). Other compounds, in which the first component is a masc. noun in the genitive case, such as *rytolitus* "morning-rain", *vakarolitus* "evening-rain", *vinodagas* "wine-harvest", are also "unreal" and do not fall into the same category as the real or stem-compounds under discussion. Cf. Delbrück, Syntax 3, 140.

[11] Kremer, ibid., p. 42.

[12] See for the -*u*-stems A. Alexandrow, Litauische Studien I: Nominal-zusammensetzungen, Dorpat, 1888, p. 79.

upéplaudis " what the stream has washed away " (*ùpė: plaudžiu, plausti*).   Kremer [13] wished to set up the law that the suffix vowel of the prior member was retained only when this constituent was originally oxytonized.[14]   But it seems to me that there is abundant proof that the accentuation of this vowel is not only due to the influence of the regularly oxytonized *-i-*stems, *-u-*stems, and fem. *-ā-*stems but also to the fact that it was a unifying and rhythmical element in the speech consciousness of the people.   I have counted 130 compounds in which the primary accent, resting on the composition vowel (mostly *ā*), is independent of that of either member.   The accentuation of these words is hardly explainable in any other way.[15]

The primary accent of this type of Lithuanian compounds was thus, before the almost complete victory of the logical principles of accentuation [16] and the consequent expulsion of the connecting vowel, despite the presence of the stress upon it,[17] placed where it could best serve the interests of the word-rhythm. This could the more easily happen, since the Lithuanian accent is not bound, as in Latin or Greek, to the quantity of the end-syllables.   But the same phenomenon has been observed in other IE. languages.   In Avestan and Armenian, for example, the so-called composition vowel spread until it became " fast zu einem notwendigen Bestandteil der Zusammensetzung ".[18]   Bez-

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[13] BB. 7, p. 8 passim; also PBB. 8, p. 373, note 4.

[14] The rise of a svarabhakti vowel *ŭ*, as in *pýpkapalaikis* " worthless tobacco ", between consonant combinations and after voiced or guttural consonants, must not be confused with the stressed composition vowel. The former is a later phenomenon, appearing after the establishment of logical principles of accentuation.   Cf. Kremer, ibid., p. 43.

[15] These compounds are all listed in my dissertation, " The Accent of Nominal Compounds in Lithuanian ", shortly to be published.   This article is based partly on that work.

[16] Cf. Masing, Die Hauptformen des serbo-chorwatischen Accents, St. Petersburg, 1876, p. 3: " Die Geschichte des Accents der indogermanischen Sprachen besteht nun wesentlich in dem allmählichen Überhandnehmen und Herrschendwerden des logischen Princips der Betonung ".

[17] Pezzenberger, ibid., p. 106.   This statement is not surprising, because the Lithua nian latent accent possesses a strong expiratory force of our own, nor does it, like that of the Germanic languages, emphasize the accented syllable much to the detriment of the unaccented syllables.

[18] F. Justi, Über die Zusammensetzung der Nomina in den indogermanischen Sprachen, Göttingen, 1861, p. 51.

zenberger suggests that the main accent of Avestan compounds may have been put upon this syllable.[19]   In Sanskrit the lengthening of *a* in *kšamā́carás, divā́karás, dívátaras* is probably the result of the desire to avoid a succession of four short syllables; [20] while the peculiar accentuation of *medhásāti* (*médha*), *tilámiçra* (*tíla*), *yāvayáddvesas* (*yāváyant*)[21] and the compounds with *viçvá-* and *pūrva-* (*viçvádēvās, pūrvápitiš, pūrvyástutiš*) doubtless rests upon the same basis of rhythm as is evident in Lithuanian.[22]   In simplicia there is a lengthening of the final stem vowel in the fem. forms of words in *-mant* and *-vant* (*-matī, -vatī*), which is caused by the " effort to put the original stems into word-rhythm with the suffix *matī, vatī* ".[23]   Cf. *añjanā́vatī, amarā́vatī, yavyā́vatī* and the other examples given there.   I am inclined to see in certain Lithuanian simplicia, namely the derivatives from *-o-*stems in *-vimasis*, the identical expression of rhythmical word-accentuation.   Cf. *darbā́vimasis* " activity " (*dárbas* " work "), *gniauztā́vimasis* " measuring with the fist " (*gníauztas* " fist "), *grabišā́vimasis* " kleptomania " (*grabìšas* " kleptomaniac "), *griekā́vimasis* " confession " (*griẽkas* " sin ").

Bezzenberger, in denying that the ending of the final member was extended by the addition of the IE. suffix *i̯o* (Lith. *-ja-*), supposes that the original suffix of the second constituent was affected by the stress on the so-called composition vowel.   He describes the process thus: Compounds in which a composition vowel is present are more ancient than those in which it has vanished.[24]   As a result of its receiving the primary accent, this vowel was lengthened, while at the same time the fall of the suffix vowel of the second component to the state of an irrational

[19] Ibid., p. 106 and p. 106, note 1.

[20] H. Hirt, Indogermanische Grammatik, Band 4, Heidelberg, 1928, p. 80.

[21] W. D. Whitney, A Sanskrit Grammar, Leipzig and Boston, 1889, § 1251e.

[22] H. Hirt, Der indogermanische Akzent, Strassburg, 1895, p. 319.

[23] H. H. Bender, The Suffixes Mant and Vant in Sanskrit and Avestan, Diss., Baltimore, 1910, pp. 47 ff.

[24] This is quite true with regard to prior members with original stress on the stem.   When the suffix was accented, the thematic vowel is often retained.   The compound *dujókaukis* " gasmask " is surely not old.

vowel was brought about. Its pronunciation inclined towards that of e, which palatalized the preceding consonant. Thus, for instance, a form *vasarólaukies* would arise, over the form *vasarólaukes*, from *vasarólaukas*. The nom. sg. would in this manner become a contracted -*jā*-stem and the other cases would easily conform. This condition became so firmly rooted that it remained even after the composition vowel had disappeared from most compounds. The system was created; the majority of newer compounds succumbed to its pressure.

On the other hand Brugmann remarks that the use of the suffix *io* in Lithuanian compounds is a common one and that it may have sprung from the practice of affixing it to adjectival compounds containing a governing preposition and to possessive compounds in order to emphasize the adjectival character of the compound when the second member is a noun, as in Greek *homo-pátr-io-s* beside *homo-pátōr* " from the same father " or as in Sanskrit *ánv-āntr-ya-s* " situated in the intestines ".[25] In Lithuanian, as a matter of fact, these classes contain but a very small percentage of compounds which fall outside of the contracted -*jā*-declension. But Brugmann argues from the standpoint that the " mutata ", that is, the possessives, were formed directly from the immutata by affixation of the suffix *io* and thus that they (at least the type) are younger than the immutata. The opposite conception is now generally taken for granted, namely that the possessive compounds are as old if not older than the determinative and descriptive compounds.[26] According to Jacobi, they are abbreviated relative sentences of Pre-IE., reduced to compounds on account of frequent use. They were thus employed at a time when the copulative verb could be left unexpressed and when the relative pronoun did not exist. Likewise the nomina agentis and nomina actionis, compounds with a verbal derivative in the second position, corresponded to relative sentences which designated a property or a quality of the described person or thing. Jacobi calls them relative " Participia der Urzeit " and stresses the fact that their final constituents occur but very rarely as independent simplicia.[27] From

[25] Grundriss 2, 1, p. 119.

[26] H. Jacobi, Compositum und Nebensatz, Bonn, 1897, pp. 84 ff. Cf. also Hirt, Indogermanische Grammatik 4, p. 38.

[27] Jacobi, ibid., pp. 20 ff.

But this is not all. Jacobi [34] bases his theory concerning the " synthetic " compounds, that is, the " relative participles " with a verbal derivative as the final component, on the fact that *all* of them are contracted -*jā*-stems. Although the latter are in reality almost countless, nevertheless the following list will show how untrue that presupposition is: *akétvilka* " harrow-sledge " (*akéčios* " harrow ": *velkù, vìlkti* " to draw "), *akìbrokštas, akýbrokštas* " disgrace ", " set-down ", lit. " eye-butterer " (*akìs: broškiù, brōkšti*), *akýmirka, akýmirkas* " moment ", " twinkling of an eye " (*akìs: mérkiu, mérkti* " to wink "), *akýpleša* " an insolent person ", lit. " eye-tearer " (*akìs: plésiu, plésti*), *akìvaras* " an open pond on a moor ", lit. " eye-dazzler " (*akìs: veriù, vérti*), *akìžara* " a glarer ", " one who stares " (*akìs: žeriù, žeréti*), *ankštìraĩ* pl. " maggots ", lit. " hull-separators " (*ánkštis* " hull ": *irù, ìrti* " to break "), *antralakai* pl. " grain of secondary quality " (*antras* " second " : *lekiù, lēkti* " to fly "), *ausìkaras, aũskaras, aũskara* " ear-ornament " (*ausìs: kariù, kárti* " to hang "), *avìkamša* " sheep-stuffer ", " glutton " (*avis: kemšù: kimšti*), *blaũzdlauža* " shin-breaker " = " a rough road " (*blauzdà: láužau, láužyti*), *duobpārašas* " grave-inscription " (*duobé: parašaũ, parašýti*), *dúmlinda* " chimney ", " funnel " (*dúmai* " smoke ": *lendù, lį̃sti* " to crawl ", " to climb "), *gárlinda, garlendà* " aperture through which the steam rises from the oven " (*gāras: lendù, lį̃sti*), *gárvilkas, gárvilka, garvilkà,*— same as preceding—(*velkù, vìlkti* " to draw "), *grynšalà, grýnšalas* " frost without snow " (*grýnas* " pure ": *šalù, šálti* " to freeze "), *kiauléda* " pig-eater " (*kiaūlé: édù, ésti*), *lédžygas, lédžyga, ledžygà* " ice-spur " (*lēdas: žengiù, žeñgti* " to walk "), *naktigùltas* " night-lodging " (*naktìs: guliù, gùlti* " to lie "), *pastùrlakos* pl. " the lighter, less valuable grain " (*pasturas* " last ": *lekiù, lēkti* " to fly "), *pečialánda, pečlìnda, pečalúnda* " wren ", lit. " that which creeps into the oven " (*pēčius: lendù, lį̃sti*), *pédsakas* " trace ", " trail " (*pédà* " footstep ": *sekù, sèkti* " to follow "), *pelékautai* pl. " mouse-trap " (*pelé: káunu, káuti* " to kill "), *pétnešos* " suspenders ", lit. " carried by the shoulders " (*petýs: nešù, nèšti*), *širdperša* " heart-ache " (*širdìs: péršti* impers. " to pain "), *šùnjoda* " a prostitute ", " one chased by dogs " (*šuõ: jóju, jóti* " to ride "), *vąškaras* " hook on which

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[34] Ibid., p. 20.

to hang a cooking-pot" (*vą̃šas* "hook": *kariù, kárti* "to hang"), *žėmgrindas* "road laid through a marsh" (*žémė* "earth": *grindžiù, grį̃sti* "to put boards or stones over a piece of ground"), *žiemagul̃tas* "winter-quarters" (*žiemà: guliù, gul̃ti* "to lie"), *žodmainà* "conjugation" (*žõdis* "word": *mainaũ, mainýti* "to change").[35]

Of the compounds listed above those in -*as* cannot be separated from such words as Latin *montivagus* "roving through the mountains", Greek *hudrophóros* "the water-carrier",[36] while the compounds in -*a* are formed exactly like the Latin words *agricola, homicida,* etc., and belong to the oldest stratum of the language. The few possessive compounds in -*a, buknosà* (beside *buknõsis*) "blunt-nosed" (*bukùs: nósis*), *didnosà* (beside *didnõsis*) "large-nosed" (*dìdis*), *geltnosà* (and *geltnõsis*) "yellow-nosed" (*gel̃tas*), *gembnosà* "hook-nosed" (*gémbė*), *gugnosà* "pommel-nosed" (*gugà*), *gumbnõsa* "knob-nosed" (*gum̃bas*), *ilganosà* (beside *ilganõsis*) "long-nosed" (*ìlgas*), *kreivanosà* (beside *kreivnõsis*) "with a crooked nose" (*kreĩvas*), *kriaunosà* (beside *kriaunõsis*) "with a nose like a sword-hilt" (*kriaunà*), *kumpnosà* (beside *kumpnõsis*) "with a crooked nose" (*kum̃pas*), *pirmakartà* (beside *pirmakar̃tis*) "novice", "one on the first level" (*pìrmas: kartà*), *storlupà* (beside *storlũpis*) "thick-lipped" (*stóras: lúpa*), may have been created on the analogy of the above-mentioned compounds in -*a*. Such forms as *devynkalbà* "blue-bird", lit. "nine-voiced" (*devynì: kalbù, kalbė́ti* "to speak") and *saunorà* "self-willed" (*sãvo* "suus": *nóriu, norė́ti* "to wish") could easily (cf. *kalbà* "speech", *nóras* "will") have provided the intermediate step.

Further, compounds in which the final member originally contained an -*i*- in the suffix or in which the suffix was preceded by *č* or *ž* frequently, but by no means always, retain the declension of that final member. Compare, for example: *barzdskutnyčià* "barber-shop" (*barzdà* "beard": *skutnyčià* "shop"), *bómgiria* "Tree-forest", a forest in Labiau (*bómas: gìria*), *devynmotérius* "one who has to do with many women" (*devynì* "nine": *moterius* "woman pursuer"), *deimotérius* "having

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[35] For still other examples see Buga's already mentioned article in *Tautos Tauros* 2, pp. 4 ff.

[36] Buga, ibid., p. 14.

two wives" (*dvì: motērius*), *galvakõjai* pl. "cephalopodes" (*galvà: kója*), *garnizúnbažnyčia* "garrison church" (*garnizúns: baznýčia*), *kiaūlkerdžius* (beside *kiaūlkerdìs*) "swine-herd" (*kiaūlė: kerdžius*), *krȳžbažnyčia* "Church of the Cross" (*krȳžius: bažnýčia*), *lengvaliėjus* "light oil" (*leñgvas: aliėjus*), *pliūšlelija* "corn-flag", "sword-grass" (*pliušē* "shave-grass": *lelìja* "lily"), *pùskurtelius* "an eighth" (*pùsė* "a half": *kurtēlius* "a quarter"), *pùssaltysius* "country judge" (*pùsė: saltýsius* "judge"), *šiēnveža* (beside *šiēnvežė, šiēnvežis*) "hay-wagon" (*šiēnas: vežē*), *žȳčknyginyčia* "lending library" (*žȳčkà* "loan": *knyginýčia*).

This should be sufficient proof that the declensional system for compounds in Lithuanian, assumed by Schleicher, Jacobi and others, is far from being iron-clad. That most compounds, however, are thus declined would be evident from any list that might be drawn up. Two causes, both working toward the same end, brought about the wide extension of the system: the position of the primary accent on the composition vowel occasioned the fall of the -*o*-stems and -*ā*-stems, which, being greatly in the majority, drew with them by force of analogy the comparatively few -*i*-stems, -*u*-stems and consonant stems, to the masc. -*is* and the fem. -*ė* of the contracted -*jā*-stems; while the IE. suffix -*io*-, added in IE. times to compounds which, although having a noun as final member, are in reality adjectives, aided, among these compounds, the rhythmical process.

But it is not to be denied that consciousness of the original form of the second member in its independent state is often responsible for its retention in composition. The following list of doublets will show that the system just described could have spread but gradually and not always effectively: *akétvirbalai* pl., *akéčvirbalis* "harrow-prong"; *akikaistas, akikaistis* "disgrace", "shame"; *akýskauda, akýskaudis* "eye-pain", *akìsopas, akýsopis* "eye-pain"; *apýgarda, apýgardis* "neighborhood"; *arklāganas, arkláganis* "handle of a plow"; *bùtsanga, bùtsangė* "house-door"; *darbýlaikas, darbýlaikis* "work-period"; *gaĩdgysta, gaĩdgystė*, and *gaidžiāgystis* "cock-crow" = "early morning"; *gal(v)žuda, galvzudȳs* "head-killer" = "murderer"; *kāspinas, kāspinis, kasāpinis, kasópinis,* and also *kasāpinė* "band for the hair"; *kélvartai, kélvarčei* "road-gate"; *kiŕmvarpa,*

kìrvarpa, but *kir̃mvarpis, kìrvarpis* "worm-hole"; *kraugerà, kraugerỹs, kraujagerỹs* "blood-sucker", "vampire"; *kraũsurba, krausurbỹs* "blood-sucker"; *kùrmrausa, kùrmrausis* "mole-hill"; *laukãsargai, láuksargis* sg. and *Lauksargiaĩ* (a village) pl. "field-watchers"; *martmerga, martmergė* "bridesmaid"; *nausėdà, nausėdỹs* "colonist"; *nauvedà, nauvedžià, nauvedỹs* "recently married man"; *pelėdneša, pelėdnešė* "field-mouse"; *pelenrusà, pelenrūsė* "stirrer of ashes" = "Cinderella"; *pìktšašas, pìktšašis* "bad scab"; *pódukra, pódukrė* "step-daughter"; *pryšìrdis* (-*i*-stem) "breast" but also *pryšìrdė;*[37] *Pústlaukai* (a village), *pūstlaukis* "waste field"; *rytamėtas, rýtmetis, rytmetỹs* "morning time"; *saulėlaida, saulėleidis* "sunset"; *ugniãkuras* "fire-heater", also *ugnãkuris; ùžraktas, ùžraktis* "lock"; *varnãlesa, varnãlesis* "burdock", "clotbur", lit. "picked by crows or ravens"; *žėmuoga, žėmuogė* "strawberry"; *žmogžudà, žmogžudỹs* "murderer".

In the foregoing pages nothing has been said of compounds of the type *báltmargas* "white-speckled", *dvinýtas* "woven with two weaving-combs", *júodbėras* "black-brown", *šémmargas* "gray-speckled", *žálmargas* "green-speckled". These are examples of looser composition and are merely dvandva-juxtapositions of two adjectival elements, in which the prior member appears in its stem form and in which the final constituent, as in Lettish,[38] is declined as if uncompounded. According to Buga,[39] the occurrence of forms in -*is,* as *baltmar̃gis, dvinýtis, júodbėris,* is caused not by the fact of composition but by substantivization of the adjectives by means of the suffix -*i̯o-,* as in *sēnìs* "old man" beside *sēnas* "old". The suffix -*i̯o-* thus has a double function; the rhythmical factor, although most certainly active, is not the only factor in deciding the declension of Lithuanian compounds, nor is it always effective.

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[37] K. Kurschat, Grammatik der littauischen Sprache, p. 113.

[38] J. Endzelin, Lettische Grammatik. Heidelberg, 1923, p. 180.

[39] Ibid., p. 14.

LITHUANIAN *DAMLĀKAS, DŪMLĀKAS*, "CHIMNEY-FLUE".

In Prussian Lithuanian there are two words, each of which signifies "flue", "chimney", "chimney-flue". The one is *damlākas, damalākas*,[1] which Kurschat translates "der Rauchfang über dem Heerd in der Küche", adding "vielleicht aus *dúmų lakas* (von *lekiù*) entstanden". But it is obviously impossible for *dam-, dama-* to have any form of the noun *dúmas* "smoke" as its source. Prellwitz says[2] that *damalākas*, with svarabhakti development of "*ă*", stands for a hypothetical form **damlakas* (which, however, actually occurs as above); and that it is a loanword from the German "Dampfloch", "smoke-hole", "chimney-flue". He then compares it with the loan-words *dambots* "Dampfboot", "steamboat" and *damšipis* "Dampfschiff", "steamship", in which the consonant combination "*pf*" has likewise disappeared. The development of "*ă*" after a nasal consonant is not infrequent in Lithuanian; cf. *dur̃nadagilis* "thorn-apple", "plant which has the property of making one dizzy" (*dur̃nas* "raging": *dagìlis* "thistle") beside *dur̃ndagis* "thorn-apple" (*dur̃nas: dagy̆s* "thistle") and *pirmakar̃tis, pirmakartà* "novice", "one who is on the first level" (*pìrmas* "first": *kartà* "level").

The other word is *dūmlákas*,[3] which Kurschat, together with a variant form *dumolakas*, places in brackets to show that he is unfamiliar with it.[4] But Nesselmann translates it "das Rauchloch am Ofen", "der Schornstein", "die Schornsteinöffnung", adding "vgl. *ruklakas*". This latter word, coming directly from the German "Rauchloch" is decisive for the second member of the compound: -*lakas* is from the German "Loch", "hole" and not, as Kurschat supposed, from *lākas* "der Flug", "the escape", a word which stands in ablaut with the verb *lekiù, lėkti* "to fly".[5] Kurschat was doubtless led to his sup-

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[1] F. Kurschat, Litauisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch, pp. 78a and 77b.

[2] Die deutschen Bestandteile in den lettischen Sprachen, Göttingen, 1891, p. 21.

[3] Nesselmann, Wörterbuch der litauischen Sprache, p. 150a.

[4] KLD. 98b: *dúmlakas* "das Rauchloch, eigentl. Rauchflug. Vgl. *lekiù* fliegen." Also 98b: *dumolakas* "der Schornstein."

[5] Cf. Leskien, Ablaut der Wurzelsilben im Litauischen, p. 363.

position by a comparison with the compounds *pìrmlakai* or *pìrmlakos* (both pl.) " the pure grain which falls to the front in winnowing " (*pìrmas* " first ") and *pastùrlakos* " the lighter and therefore less valuable grains which do not fly so far " (*pasturas* " last "), the second members of which are in reality the verbal derivative from *lekiù, lēkti* " to fly ".[6]

The explanation of the existence of these different forms for the same word is probably this: *Damlākas, damalākas* came into the language as a loan-word from the German.[7] The first constituent, not being well understood, gave way in time to the better-known substantive *dúmas,* usually pl. *dúmai* " smoke ", while the final component, since it was sound for sound identical with the verbal derivative *lākas* from *lekiù, lēkti,* remained. The change in meaning, occasioned by this " folk-etymology ", from " smoke-hole " to " smoke-escape " is, of course, extremely slight.

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[6] Le Mien, ibid., p. 363.

[7] Prellwitz, ibid., p. 18, gives several examples for the change of Germ. ō into Lith. ā.

ARISTOTLE, *RHETORIC* 3. 16. 1417 ᵇ 16-20

(HAEMON AND JOCASTA ADVISING)

The passage I here discuss occurs in Aristotle's treatment of Narration (διήγησις), and of the way in which Narration may be used by a speaker who is giving advice. Since advice concerns the future, there will be less room for Narration in this kind of speaking than in either of the other two kinds (epideictic and forensic) ; still, you may need to mention things that have already occurred, so that the persons you are advising may take better counsel for the future. In so doing, you possibly will relate something that you think your hearer may not believe; and in that case you must proceed as follows—I quote the text of Roemer, which (save for a comma, instead of a period, after *υἱόν*) is that of Bekker in the Berlin Aristotle, 1831:

ἂν δ' ᾖ ἄπιστον, ὑπισχνεῖσθαί τε καὶ αἰτίαν λέγειν εὐθύς, καὶ διατάττειν οἷς βούλονται, οἷον ἡ Ἰοκάστη ἡ Καρκίνου ἐν τῷ Οἰδίποδι ἀεὶ ὑπισχνεῖται πυνθανομένου τοῦ ζητοῦντος τὸν υἱόν, καὶ ὁ Αἵμων ὁ Σοφοκλέους.

Roberts (in *The Works of Aristotle,* translated into English under the editorship of W. D. Ross, Vol. 11, Oxford, 1924) thus renders the passage:

If any statement you make is hard to believe, you must guarantee its truth, and at once offer an explanation, and then furnish it with such particulars as will be expected. Thus Carcinus' Jocasta, in his *Oedipus,* keeps guaranteeing the truth of her answers to the inquiries of the man who is seeking her son; and so with Haemon in Sophocles.

In a note referring to the words 'and then furnish it with such particulars as will be expected,' and to 'the Scholia (Rabe, p. 248),' Roberts gives an alternative translation: 'Or possibly, "and then arrange your reasons systematically for those who demand them."'

This passage has troubled commentators and translators; in general they wish some change in the words διατάττειν οἷς βούλονται. There has been trouble, too, over the reference to Haemon in the *Antigone* of Sophocles; Cope, for example, gave

it up as hopeless. Thirdly, no sound attempt has been made to explain the reference to the *Oedipus* of Carcinus. I shall take these three points up in this order, after prefacing my treatment of them with the notes of Freese, whose edition of the *Rhetoric* in the Loeb Classical Library, 1926, conveniently assembles a number of opinions to which we must refer.[1]

Freese writes:

> The difficulty is διατάττειν, which can apparently only mean 'arrange.' Jebb retains τε, and reads ὡς for οἷς: 'The speaker must make himself responsible for the fact, ... and marshal his reasons in a way acceptable to the hearers.' The old Latin translation *vadiare quibus volunt* suggested to Roemer διαιτηταῖς, 'to the arbitrators they approve.'

The last remark really is extracted by Freese from the editorial note of Sandys (in Jebb's translation of the *Rhetoric,* post-humously published, 1909, p. 190) : 'which [*i. e.,* the Latin] suggests διαιτᾶσθαι or διαιτηταῖς (as observed by Roemer), or, possibly, διαιτηταῖς ἐπιτρέπειν, οἷς βούλονται.' This reliance upon the mediæval Latin translation, however, goes back to the Renaissance; see the text and translation of the *Rhetoric* by Portus, p. 467, and the commentary by his son, p. 350 (' Διατάττειν · *Arbitrio committere* '), Spirae, 1598.

On the reference to Haemon we have from Freese :

> *Antigone* 683-723. On this Cope remarks : ' This last example must be given up as hopeless; there is nothing in the extant play which could be interpreted as [is] required here.' According to Jebb, the 'incredibility' consists in the fact that Haemon, although in love with Antigone, and strongly opposed to the sentence pronounced upon her by his father Creon, still remains loyal to the latter. Haemon explains the reason in lines 701-3, where he says that he prizes his father's welfare more than anything else, for a father's good name and prosperity is the greatest ornament for children, as is the son's for the father.

And on the reference to Carcinus we have :

> According to Jebb, Jocasta tells the inquirer incredible things

' ᵢ neglect his omission (follow ᵐᵗ Cope) of τε after τισχωϲϲϲϲᵥ.ᵢ, ᵢ ᵈ unwarranted change, and arbitrary save on the gratuitous assumption that the paraphrase (ᵃˢ above, Rᵈⁱ·. p. 248) had better manuscript evidence than ours, and used it.

about her son, and pledges her word for the facts. Cope says: ' promises (to do something or other to satisfy him).'

So much for Freese and his quotations.

Of the three words διατάττειν οἷς βούλονται, the last has fared best; no one seems to have questioned it, and by general consent it refers to the persons whom the speaker (more strictly, the giver of advice) addresses. When the speaker must say something ἄπιστον, something that he thinks the hearer may not believe, he must perform the rhetorical processes represented by τε and καί, and then say something that he thinks the hearer will like—something that the hearers *wish*.

The most likely word of the three to be corrupt is οἷς, and hence the conjecture ὡς (= διατάττειν ὡς βούλονται), by Jebb, seems plausible. We might, indeed, accept ὡς off-hand but for the anonymous paraphrast of the *Rhetoric* (ed. Rabe, Berlin, 1896, p. 248), who has read οἷς βούλονται in the manuscript he used as a basis for his commentary:

ἐὰν δὲ ᾖ ἄπιστον τὸ διηγούμενον, δεῖ ὑπισχνεῖσθαι εἰπεῖν τὴν αἰτίαν δι' ἣν ἄπιστον δοκεῖ, καὶ διατάττειν καὶ διακοσμεῖν τὸ διηγούμενον ἐκεῖνο οἷς βούλονται οἱ ἀκροαταί, ἵνα ἐκ τοῦ λέγειν ὅσα βούλονται οἱ ἀκροαταὶ ἀληθὴς δοκῇς καὶ ἀποδεχόμενος τοῖς ἀκροαταῖς· λέγεις γὰρ τὰ θυμήρη αὐτοῖς.

The paraphrase of the references to Carcinus and Sophocles will be given later. In the part now given, the anonymous writer has justified οἷς by inserting διακοσμεῖν as a gloss for διατάττειν. And he immediately glosses οἷς βούλονται by ὅσα βούλονται (etc.) :

If what you relate (in your speech of advice) is not likely to be credited (by the persons you are advising), you must promise to tell the reason why the thing seems incredible, and arrange and embellish the thing you relate with details the hearers wish, so that, by saying what (all that) the hearers wish, you may seem true and acceptable to the hearers; for what you say is pleasing to their hearts.

It strikes me that, if we had to alter οἷς, we might well take a hint from the paraphrast, and read ὅσα; and I might recommend ὅσα but for the suggestion of my friend Mr. W. F. Mc-Donald, who instead of οἷς would like to read οἷα. As I am only

considering possibilities, let me say that in διατάττειν οἷα βούλονται
we have the change that does least violence of all to the tradi-
tional text. Either οἷα or ὅσα makes good syntax; οἷα perhaps
squares better with the speech of Haemon. Be it added, how-
ever, that the paraphrast thinks that 'Haemon is a drama,' in
spite of his other references to the *Antigone* (see Rabe, *op. cit.,*
Index Nominum, *s. vv.* Αἵμων, 'Αντιγόνη, Κρέων), has confused the
issue about the play of Carcinus, and has led us astray with his
injunction, 'You must promise to tell why the thing is incredi-
ble.' Here as in similar cases, according to Aristotle, the reason
is to be given *instanter.*

As for διατάττειν, we must explain it by Haemon's speech of
advice to his father. Whatever Haemon says in addition to
vouching for the truth of his story, and showing why the state-
ment his father may not believe is, nevertheless, true, that addi-
tional process in his speech is διατάττειν [? οἷα (or ὅσα) Κρέων
βούλεται]. And so we come to our second point, a speech in the
Antigone of Sophocles. Let us not forget that the speech must
be one of advice or counsel, an illustration of the deliberative
branch of Rhetoric; that it must contain something in the way of
narration; and that the alleged fact may concern the very recent
past, just as the advice may concern the immediate future. We
should recall, too, what Aristotle more than once recommends in
the *Rhetoric,* that you make a narration dramatic by bringing the
past before our eyes, representing it as if it were now occurring,
and using the actual words of the persons about whom your
story is told. That is precisely what Haemon does.

Cope, as we have seen, gave up the example as hopeless. He
says (*Introduction to Aristotle's Rhetoric,* 1867, p. 354) :

Αἵμων . . . must, I think, be corrupt. Haemon in the
Antigone appears in only one short scene, 635-765. The ῥῆσις
which must be referred to, if the reading is sound, is v. 683-723,
in which Haemon endeavors to persuade his father Creon to give
way, and remit his sentence of death against Antigone. There
is nothing that can be called διήγησις, 'Narrative,' at all; nor,
as far as I can see, any 'explanation of a paradox or obscurity,'
in the sense intended by Aristotle.

But Aristotle does not here talk of a general 'paradox,' or of
something obscure to the reader. The speaker is Haemon, and it

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is his father who is ἄπιστος, and must be persuaded. It may help
if we are a little more exact than is Cope. Actually, Haemon first
appears in line 626, where the Chorus mark his coming; they
assume that he is well-informed, and indeed he has heard more
than he at first divulges. They continue their utterance through
line 630. Then Creon speaks four lines, of which the last two
are two questions. Then Haemon makes his first speech, of
four lines, not a speech of advice, and containing no narration.
Then Creon makes a speech of forty-one lines (639-80); this
is a speech of advice, but, being Creon's advice to Haemon, is
not the one we are seeking. After this there are two lines from
the Chorus—and then Haemon gives his speech of advice to
Creon, in forty lines, ' v. 683-723,' as Cope says. Then the
Chorus utter two lines, Creon utters two, and thereafter Haemon
makes sixteen short speeches in altercation with his father, the
first of two lines, fourteen of one line each, and the last of four
lines (762-5), his exit being marked by the Chorus in lines
766-7. Any one of Haemon's utterances is a ' speech ' in Aristo-
tle's sense. But there can be no doubt that Cope was right in
settling on the speech of forty lines (683-723) as containing
Aristotle's illustration; this illustration, however, seems to end
with line 704. Yet, despite the fact that Haemon's opening
speech of four lines (635-8) is one of defense, not of deliberation
or counsel, Jebb and others involve it in the illustration; even
Roberts does so, if I rightly understand him, though he also cites
lines 701-4 in Haemon's speech of advice. But I take it that
Roberts has connected the two speeches in order to show that in
lines 701-4 of the second Haemon ' keeps guaranteeing the truth
of ' his ' answer ' to Creon in the first (635-8). Roberts, then,
apparently shares the view that the statement made by Haemon
which his father is not prepared to believe is that Haemon will be
dutiful, and acquiesce in Creon's condemnation of Antigone.

Is it precisely so? When Haemon enters, the Chorus are
perhaps not very doubtful, though they use their characteristic
mode of inquiry:[2] ' Comes he grieving for the doom of his
promised bride, Antigone, and bitter for the baffled hope of his
marriage? ' ' We shall know soon,' answers Creon: ' My son,
. . . art thou come in rage against thy father? Or have I thy

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[2] Here and hereafter I use Jebb's translation of Sophocles.

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good will, act how I may?' It must be understood that father
and son thus far have loved each other, and that Creon's second
question is not idle. It shows that he is half-prepared to believe
that the son will continue dutiful. Creon, a supremely confi-
dent tragic hero, is in fact unprepared to believe that any one
will doubt his justice and wisdom. Of course he is relieved by
Haemon's answer: 'Father, I am thine; and thou, in thy
wisdom, tracest for me rules which I shall follow. No mar-
riage shall be deemed by me a greater gain than thy good guid-
ance.' But Creon's long speech immediately shows that to him
Haemon's answer was not incredible. He was hoping for that
answer, and himself dilates on the reasons why it is good. It
is the father himself who vouches for its propriety. In other
words, Haemon's statement is not ἄπιστον to Creon, nor is
Haemon required to vouch for it. We must look in Haemon's
speech of advice for the thing that Creon is not prepared to
believe.

Thus approached, the matter becomes simple. The thing that
will strike Creon as incredible, the thing that will be ἄπιστον
to him, is that people have been upbraiding this model of wisdom
and justice—I was going to finish the sentence with ' behind his
back,' but that is the reason (αἰτίαν) why he will not be prepared
to believe it. Haemon rightly thinks that his father is unpre-
pared for the story. So he vouches for it, and promptly gives
the reason why it is credible, so promptly indeed that the reason
and the incredible thing are given together: ' It is my natural
office to watch, on thy behalf, all that men say, or do, or find to
blame. For the dread of thy frown forbids the citizen to speak
such words as would offend thine ear; *but I can hear these mur-
murs in the dark,* these moanings of the city for this maiden;
" no woman," they say, " ever merited her doom less." ' And
he goes on to narrate the talk he has heard. The story is put
in the present for vividness, but obviously is the piece of ' narra-
tive ' (διήγησις) for which Cope, and apparently every one else,
looked in vain. Having vouched, and given the reason, and told
his story, Haemon vouches again (line 700), repeating the
' reason ' : ' Such is the darkling rumor that spreads in secret.'

And then, if he has not already begun the process, the next
step is διατάττειν οἶα Κρέων βούλεται: ' For me, my father, no
treasure is so precious as thy welfare. What, indeed, is a nobler

ornament for children than a prospering sire's fair fame, or for
sire than son's?' Here, it seems, with line 704, the process ends,
for the rest of the speech is counsel, not narration; but perhaps it
started the moment Haemon began to tell the incredible thing, or
at all events when he began to put what his father would *not*
like to hear into the mouth of a third person, ' the city.' Aris-
totle in the very next chapter (17. 1418 ᵇ 31-3) cites this speech
of Haemon to illustrate the way in which you can render unac-
ceptable words more acceptable, by quoting them from another,
and thus shifting the responsibility from yourself. This rhetori-
cal device, then, may be a part of the process διατάττειν οἷα
[or ὡς] βούλονται.

As for renderings like that of Freese, ' You should immedi-
ately promise both to give a reason for it at once and to submit it
to the judgment of any one whom the hearers approve,' obviously
no such thing is done by Haemon. This luckless interpretation
goes back beyond Roemer and the ' διαιτᾶσθαι *vel* διαιτηταῖς ' which
he inferred from the thirteenth-century Latin translation
(*vadiare quibus volunt*) by William of Morbeka. ' Promise to
give a reason ' is an inheritance, through a line of commentators
and editors, from the twelfth-century Greek paraphrast, who for
ὑπισχνεῖσθαί τε καὶ αἰτίαν λέγειν εὐθύς offers the gloss ὑπισχνεῖσθαι
εἰπεῖν τὴν αἰτίαν. But the reference to Haemon, as we have seen,
means nothing to the paraphrast; he got nothing from his
sources (in the Scholiasts) on that. For us, however, the inter-
pretation of the passage in the *Rhetoric* may well begin with the
speech of Haemon, and from this and the text of Aristotle go on
to the speech of Jocasta.

Thus we come to our third point, which concerns a speech of
advice (or perhaps more than one) in the *Oedipus* of Carcinus.
Is the paraphrast more helpful on this? Let us see. The infor-
mation he gives does not come from the antiquity that knew the
play. Our sole reference of any sort to the play from that anti-
quity is the passage from Aristotle. The paraphrast writes:

ὁ Καρκίνος τραγικὸς ποιητής. ἐν τῷ Οἰδίποδι ἤτοι τῷ δράματί τις
ἐζήτει τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπυνθάνετο καὶ ἠρώτα περὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν Ἰο-
κάστην, ἡ δὲ ὑπισχνεῖτο ἀεὶ εἰπεῖν. καὶ ὁ Αἵμων δρᾶμά ἐστι· καὶ
ὑπισχνεῖται οὗτος ἀεὶ εἰπεῖν πρὸς τὸν ἐρωτῶντα.

Carcinus, tragic poet. In the *Oedipus,* that is, in the drama,

some one was seeking his son, and was inquiring and asking about him of Jocasta; and she kept promising to tell (the reason why her story was credible). And Haemon is a drama; and he keeps promising to tell (the reason) to the person who is asking.

Need we assume that this travesty of the known situation in our speech of advice from Haemon is worse than the interpretation of some speech of advice in the lost *Oedipus* of the younger Carcinus? And yet as a travesty of Carcinus it may not be worse than some modern translations of the passage from Aristotle. Thus Welldon: 'as the Jocasta of Carcinus in his *Oedipus* perpetually promises in answer to the man who is looking for her son.' And thus Freese: 'as, for instance, Jocasta in the *Oedipus* of Carcinus is always promising, when the man who is looking for her son makes inquiries of her.' In these cases, 'promising' always implies 'to give a reason later.' Also the τις ἐζήτει seems to have left a trail of bad influence in the Renaissance, and down to our own time.

What can we infer about the play from Aristotle? First, that it contained a speech of counsel from Jocasta; she is advising a man to do something, or, perhaps more probably (as Haemon advises Creon), to refrain from doing something. The modern translators do not seem to have kept this requisite clearly in mind. Nor am I convinced that they all are clear about the second, namely, that Jocasta, in advising this man, used narration; she made a statement that concerned the past. Thirdly, either the statement was one which she thought her hearer might not believe, or else, and more probably, the hearer showed that he did not believe it. Fourthly, she kept vouching for the truth of her statement; and we may assume that she promptly gave the reason why the story which might not or did not strike the man she was advising as true nevertheless *was* true, and that she tried further to win him by saying things she thought he would like to hear, with which she hoped to secure his belief. Aristotle's first and more explicit example surely would illustrate all the successive steps in the process, or all three parts of it if they were not strictly successive but interlaced; and in his very condensed style Ἰοκάστη . . . ὑπισχνεῖται would stand for the other two parts of the process as well; such is his custom, he is hurried in this chapter, and he is particularly hurried when dealing with narra-

tion in deliberative speeches, where it has least room. Fifthly, the tale Jocasta told concerned her son, and she related it to an inquisitive man who wanted to find out something about that son; we shall later discuss the possible meanings of ζητοῦντος. All that she said, let us again observe—her story, her vouchings for it, her explanation why it is true, her efforts to secure the trust and good will of her hearer—all this was designed to persuade him to a course of action, to get him to do something else than the thing he seems bent on doing (ζητεῖν); that is the function of deliberative speaking.

I pass to conjecture, but to a conjecture that looks very certain to me, and one that is borne out by all my preceding points. Who was this inquisitive man? Aristotle says of Jocasta: ἀεὶ ὑπισχνεῖται. How often did she have to vouch for the truth of her story? Haemon directly vouches for his story twice. The Jocasta of Carcinus apparently had to do so oftener than that. And the paraphrast, having a sense for the implication of Greek words, says of the man who is ἄπιστος, and whose curiosity is so hard to still: ἐπυνθάνετο καὶ ἠρώτα περὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν Ἰοκάστην. When Aristotle is in the rest of the passage so compact and curt, there should be a reason for his little pile of words πυνθανομένου τοῦ ζητοῦντος τὸν υἱόν. Further, ζητοῦντος does not necessarily mean 'the man who is *seeking* her son' (Jebb, and Roberts), or 'the man who is *looking for* her son' (Welldon, and Freese); quite apart from any contingent probability it may just as well mean, 'who is *trying to find out* about her son,' investigating the question what became of her son, a far more likely situation in a plot concerning Oedipus. This man would hardly be her first husband, Laius, asking Jocasta, 'What have you done with our infant?' If that were the situation, the play would not be called *Oedipus.*

We do not, indeed, know why Aristotle specifies the play by its title. When referring to Haemon he does not in the *Rhetoric* specify the *Antigone* by title; in *Poetics* 14. 1454 ᵃ 1 he does so specify; in *Poetics* 17.1455 ᵃ 27 he makes Carcinus' 'Amphiaraus' the subject of a sentence, and scholars have taken *Amphiaraus* as the title of the play there in question (see, for example, Nauck, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, 1889, p. 797). In such cases, specification by title may be a matter of chance, but in the case of the *Oedipus*, when the style of the con-

text is so condensed, there probably is a reason for the use of the
word. The reason may be, as in other citations by Aristotle, that
the name helps out the sense of what follows, and not merely
that, with the addition of its author's name, it distinguished the
play from those by other dramatists on the same subject, or from
some other play by Carcinus. This poet is said to have written
160 plays, of which we know perhaps nine by title; the *Oedipus*
is the only one we know of on its part of the Theban Cycle.
But even if Carcinus had written a play involving Jocasta's sons
by Oedipus, the tradition hardly admits of a situation in which
a man would be asking her, 'What has become of Eteocles?' or
'What has become of Polyneices?' Nor again is it very likely,
in the tale of Oedipus, that a messenger from Corinth would
persist in asking Jocasta, 'What has become of the infant?' or
that she would be counseling the messenger. Nor yet again, so
far as we know the legend of Oedipus from Sophocles, would
the old herdsman who was to expose or kill the infant on the
mountain ask Jocasta such a question.

It seems to me that everything points to a situation, like that
in the *Oedipus Rex* of Sophocles, in which the hero, now married
to his own mother, has got an inkling of the true state of affairs,
and has learned of the son Jocasta had by Laius. As in Sopho-
cles' play, he is feverishly pursuing his inquiries, and trying to
find out, not necessarily from Jocasta alone, but perhaps mainly
from her, what became of the infant. She tells him some such
tale as the Jocasta of Sophocles' play tells the hero, and counsels
him *to desist from the search*. In her narration there is some-
thing she thinks he will not believe, or that he obviously does
not believe. (In *Oedipus Rex* 1175 the hero is not prepared to
believe that Jocasta had been so cruel as to give the child to the
herdsman to be killed.) She vouches for the fact, and offers a
reason why it is not incredible—say, because the oracle had
foretold that the child would slay his father; and then she adds
things that Oedipus would be pleased to hear—say, that since
the child is dead, and could not have slain his father, the oracle
Oedipus has heard, that he must wed his mother, is also unlikely
to be true. As Sophocles wrote no long speech of advice from
Jocasta to Oedipus, Carcinus may have grasped the opportunity
to do so. We may imagine from Sophocles that it would be
loving advice, summed up in words of wifely devotion.

There is, however, a relatively short speech by Sophocles' Jocasta that will exemplify the doctrine of Aristotle; but the story concerns the death of Laius (*Oedipus Rex* 848-58) :

Nay, be assured that thus, at least, the tale was first told; he [the herdsman] cannot revoke that, for the city heard it, not I alone.　But even if he should diverge somewhat from his former story, never, king, can he show that the murder of Laius, at least, is truly square to prophecy; of whom Loxias plainly said that he must die by the hand of my child.　Howbeit that poor innocent never slew him, but perished first itself.　So henceforth, for what touches divination, I would not look to my right hand or my left.

Oedipus answers: ' Thou judgest well.　But nevertheless send some one to fetch the peasant, and neglect not this matter.' We may allow that sending for the herdsman does look something like ' submitting it to the judgment of any whom the hearers approve,' and Jocasta promises to do so.　But that happens to be what Oedipus wishes, and what she, the adviser, also wishes; and she closes the episode by saying such things, or as much, as he would wish:

I will send without delay.　But let us come into the house: nothing will I do save at thy good pleasure.

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NOTES ON CICERO'S LETTERS

1. *Ad Atticum* IX, 13, 4.

When Cicero is enumerating the resources of Caesar at the beginning of the Civil War (March 49) he says: Magnas habet certe copias, et habebit non alie [1] vectigal sed civium bona. Madvig proposed *Italiae* and this was accepted by Müller and by Tyrrell and Purser. It is difficult to see what could be meant by a *vectigal Italiae* in the year 49 B. C. when Italy paid no taxes. The Italian tribute had been abolished long ago, the vicesima was used for a sacred reserve fund, the port dues were cancelled in 60 B. C., and the Campanian public land was distributed in 59. In that year Cicero (ad Att. II, 16) says: portoriis Italiae sublatis, agro Campano diviso, quod vectigal superest domesticum praeter vicesimam? There was none worth mentioning. If, however, we may read *Galliae* we shall have a solution of a very old discussion regarding the meaning of Suet. Jul. 25, and Caesar- (Hirtius) B. G., VIII, 49, 3. Suetonius, without giving any date, says that Caesar imposed a tribute of forty million sesterces on Gaul. This is usually assumed to be in 50 B. C., when Caesar was ending his proconsulship. But Hirtius also states explicitly that Caesar was very conciliatory towards the Gauls in that year (ibid. 49, 3). He did not wish to have a new revolt on his hands when he was getting ready to cross the Rubicon. Holmes (Conquest of Gaul,[2] 838) has well suggested that Caesar may have imposed this tribute before the winter of 51 just as he fixed the British tribute as early as 54 B. C. (B. G. V, 22). Hirtius' statement that Caesar showed kindness to the Gauls in 50 B. C., nulla onera injungendo, would square with this view. If then we read Galliae vectigal in Cicero's letter we may suppose that Caesar during his last year in Gaul—while being threatened by the senate to have his commission revoked—had placed his reliance upon the Gallic vectigal of 40,000,000 sesterces. Cicero here suggests that in the future Caesar need not depend upon that alone since now he would be able to confiscate the goods of Roman citizens at pleasure.

[1] *alie* M; ille M².

2. *Ad Atticum* XI, 23, 3.

Nunc quidem ipse videtur denuntiare; audimus enim de †
staturi elodi.

Purser conjectures *de statua Clodi,* suggesting that Dolabella
may have offended Cicero by erecting a statue of the infamous
Publius Clodius. There is of course no other mention of such
a statue, nor is it easy to suppose that Cicero would endanger
Tullia's happiness because of a slight so trivial when he soon
afterwards says that he was ready to forget the insults of Clodius
(ad Att. XIV, 13 b). I would propose to read audimus enim *de
Statio M. Clodi.* Cicero has just expressed regrets at not having
his daughter divorce Dolabella, who had misbehaved shamelessly
in company with M. Clodius (the *filius Aesopi*). I assume that
Statius (a common slave name) is a courier of this M. Clodius,
the boon companion of Dolabella, and that Cicero had learned
of Dolabella's plans from him (de = de ore alicuius, cf. The-
saurus L. L., II, 1276). " Now Dolabella himself seems about
to take the initiative in demanding a divorce; for that is what
I hear from Clodius' slave Statius." The escapades of Dolabella
and Aesopus' son in connection with Metella ("Perilla") are
referred to a few lines above and in XI, 15, 3 (Quin etiam Aesopi
filius me excruciat). In *Class. Rev.* 1920, 91, I have gathered
the references to this M. Clodius. He is apparently to be iden-
tified with the poet Ticidas.

3. *Ad Fam.* IX, 15, 2.

Mirifice capior facetiis, maxime nostratibus, praesertim cum
eas videam primum *oblitas Latio* tum cum in urbem nostram
est infusa peregrinitas, nunc vero etiam bracatis et Transalpinis
nationibus. Tyrrell and Purser translate oblitas Latio " smirched
by Latinism "—which is misleading to say the least. Madvig,
who rightly observed that Cicero would hardly object to the
propriety of the Latinity of Latium proposed to take *oblitas* from
obliviscor and amend Latio to Lati. Other emendations have
been offered because of the same conviction. It is to be noticed
that a few lines further down Cicero praises the wit of the pro-
vincial Lucilius, and refers to Granius, Crassus and Laelius as
especially urbane, though these men wrote long after Latium had

been incorporated in Roman territory. However, emendation is not called for.

The real difficulty with the passage is Cicero's use of *Latium* in a somewhat unusual sense, referring here to the outlying regions and colonies that had been given the *jus Latii*. In Cicero's day the one best-known region that could be called Latium in this sense was of course Transpadane Gaul, and Cicero here seems to refer to that region since he not only speaks directly of peregrinitas but goes on immediately to contrast the peregrini with the bracati beyond the Alps. In the *Brutus* (171), which was written a few months before this letter, Cicero remarks to Brutus that he would soon learn as governor of Cisalpine Gaul what faulty Latin was like. A phrase in Sallust's Jugurtha, 69, gives a very clear instance of Latium used for the regions that possessed the jus Latii beyond Latium proper. In that passage we learn that Metellus, in 108 B. C., executed an officer of his army; nam is civis ex Latio erat. Since Latium proper was then Roman, the officer in question must have been a native of some outlying town or colony that had the jus Latii.

The words of Cicero thus understood have some interest for literary comment since they seem to refer to the numerous Cisalpine youths who were at that time coming to Rome to take up literature. One thinks naturally of Valerius Cato, Catullus, and Cinna of the previous decade (the letter was written in 46), and of Vergil, Varius [2] and Quintilius who were at the very time of this letter apparently studying philosophy and timidly beginning to write verses. Paetus, to whom the letter was addressed, lived in the Epicurean circle at Naples (Fam. IX, 25, 2) and attended the lectures of some Epicurean philosopher— possibly Siro himself (Fam. IX, 26; cf. A. J. P. 1920, p. 281). Cicero who occasionally took dinner with Paetus (Fam. IX, 16,

[2] In February 43 a Rufus, who was a particular friend of Paetus, had with Paetus written to Cicero warning him of some hidden political opposition that might prove dangerous (Fam. IX, 24). This Rufus may well be Varius Rufus, the friend of Vergil, who wrote the De Morte about this time. We have learned from the fragments of Philodemus, which Diels edited in the Abhand. Preus. Akad. 1915, part 7, that the Neapolitan Epicureans adopted the same independent attitude toward Antony and Cicero as did Piso (see especially Philippson in Hermes, 1918, 382).

7; 23; 26, 3; Att. IV, 9) may have met these young provincials there. At any rate the passage may contain a mild criticism of the diction or pronunciation of that group, just as elsewhere Cicero refers to the faulty Latinity of the Cisalpines (Brutus, 171; 258; Ad Att. VII, 3. 10, regarding Caecilius).

4. *Ad Atticum* XIII, 31, 4.

C. Albanius proximus est vicinus: is M. jugerum de M. Pilio emit, ut mea memoria est, HS CXV. Tyrrell and Purser comment: " If this is to be understood to mean 115,000 sesterces the sum will be too small. If on the other hand we make it *centies quindecies,* or ten million and a half (sic) the sum will be too great." Whether or not the latter sum is too great depends of course where the land was, since land very near Rome was of course a very different matter from land far from the city. Now it happens that we know approximately where the property lay that Cicero wished to buy. It was the Scapulanus hortus which contained a dwelling and baths (Ad Att. XIII, 29, 2) and it was near the city in a part where many people passed (Ad Att. XII, 37). In Ad Att. XIII, 33, 4, we discover that it lay in the Campus Vaticanus (Prati di Castello), for Cicero is warned not to purchase the hortus because Caesar had decided to divert the Tiber to the right of that Campus in order to use it for military purposes. Since Cicero was ready to pay more than 1,200,000 sesterces for the neighboring hortus Scapulanus (Ad Att. XII, 25, 1) at a time when he was in financial straits, 11500 HS per jugerum (or about $900. per acre) would hardly seem to be a very high price for land in the Vatican Campi. There is no reason why the number should not be written $\overline{\text{CXV}}$.

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THE DATE OF THE OCTAVIUS.

That the *Octavius* of Minucius Felix and Tertullian's *Apologeticus* are in some way related is generally agreed. Three theories have been advanced to account for this relation: first, that Tertullian used the *Octavius*; second, that Minucius used the *Apologeticus*; third, that both authors went back to a common Latin source now lost. None of these hypotheses has been established beyond doubt, but the first appears to be the best supported.[1] Tertullian wrote the *Ad Nationes* and the *Apologeticus* in 197 A. D.[2] The *Octavius* cannot have been written before about 125 A. D., and must have been written before about 310.[3] This note makes no pretense of being a full or fully documented treatment of the subjects discussed. Its aim is strictly limited and is two-fold: first, by adopting and bringing together certain arguments used by De Sanctis and by Baylis, to show that it is improbable that Minucius wrote between the accession of Marcus Aurelius and the death of Septimius Severus; and, second, to propose a supplementary proof that Tertullian borrowed from the *Octavius,* and consequently that Minucius wrote before 161.

In his recent book, Baylis has stated that in his opinion the dialogue was written during the latter part of the reign of Antoninus Pius.[4] Later he deals in detail with the question

[1] In Part II of *Minucius Felix and His Place Among the Early Fathers of the Latin Church* (London, 1928), the Reverend H. J. Baylis has analysed and criticised the main arguments for and against the three theories, and has made out a strong case for the priority of the *Octavius* and for dating it before 161.

[2] This date is well substantiated and is now generally accepted: cf. P. de Labriolle, *Histoire de la Littérature latine chrétienne* (1920), p. 94.

[3] M. Cornelius Fronto of Cirta is twice mentioned by Minucius Felix (*Octavius,* IX, 6; and XXXI, 2). For Fronto's dates cf. Teuffel, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur* (1913), § 355. The *Octavius* cannot have been written before about 125, and probably was not written till a score of years later. Further it is specifically mentioned by Lactantius in the *Divinae Institutiones* (I, 11), which was written early in the fourth century: cf. Teuffel, *op. cit.,* § 397.

[4] *Minucius Felix,* p. 273.

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of priority and bases his argument in part on the *Octavius,*
XVIII, 5-6. This passage has been used by various scholars
and contradictory conclusions have been reached. Schanz, in
particular, has employed it to prove that the dialogue was
written before the reign of Marcus Aurelius, but his conclusions
are made worthless by the unwarrantable assumption that Minu-
cius wrote while Fronto was still living.[5] The passage, however,
is very important, and De Sanctis has made an instructive study
of it which will here be summarized and extended. He is of
the opinion that, in the present state of our knowledge, the
question of the priority of the *Octavius* to the *Apologeticus,* or
vice versa cannot be determined definitely, but that certain facts
in regard to the date of the former work can be settled.[6] Basing
his arguments on the *Octavius,* XVIII, 5-6, and in particular on
the words, Quando umquam regni societas aut cum fide coepit
aut sine cruore discessit, he attempts to dispose of the objections
to his interpretation of the passage, shows that the joint rule
of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus established a precedent
and was long remembered, and continues: La retorica è la
retorica . . . Bisogna però non solo essere retore, ma retore
insensato, non uomo assennato come Minucio, per attenersi ad
un τόπος al segno d'ignorare il mondo in cui si vive e d'esporsi
ad una accusa di maestà. The conclusions which he reaches are,
in brief, that the *Octavius* cannot have been written between
161 and 169, the years of a *regni societas* which began with good
faith; that it was not written for two or three decades there-
after; and that Minucius wrote either before such a joint rule
occurred, or after about 200.

De Sanctis' arguments and general position seem sound. If
they are, the later limit of the period during which the dialogue
cannot well have been written should be raised from the turn of
the century to 208, or more probably to 212, and for these
reasons. Not only were Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus asso-
ciated in a joint rule (161-169) quae cum fide coepit et sine

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[5] Cf. Schanz, *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur* (1905), §656.
[6] Minucio Felice e Lucio Vero in *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione
Classica,* N. S. V. fasc. 2, Giugno 1927, pp. 233-235; cf. *ibid.* N. S. III,
p. 443. His article is, in part, a refutation of the views advanced by
G. Meyer in *Philologus,* LXXXII (1926), pp. 67 ff.

cruore discessit; but so too were Marcus Aurelius and Commodus
(176-180) ; so also Septimius Severus and Caracalla (198-208).[7]
The *condominium* of Septimius Severus, Caracalla, and Geta
(209-211) probably ended *sine cruore*; in 212, after about a
year of joint rule, Caracalla brutally and wantonly murdered
Geta, his colleague and younger brother. If the question were
asked, what would cause the memory of a peaceful joint rule to
fade, a proper answer would be, either a considerable period of
time, or some such deed as that of Caracalla. For the memory
of so important a constitutional phenomenon as a *condominium*
to fade from the mind of the highly educated and well informed
Minucius Felix the period between 169 and 176 was certainly
too short, and the period from 180 to the joint rule of Septimius
Severus and Caracalla was hardly long enough. Therefore Minu-
cius cannot well be considered to have written the *Octavius*
between 161 and 208, or, as has been said, more probably 212. It
now remains to supplement the proof that Tertullian borrowed
from the dialogue.

One of the best arguments for Tertullian's dependence on the
Octavius is furnished by the so-called "Saturn Case." Baylis
has treated at length the various aspects of this case;[8] here only
one point will be discussed: namely, Tertullian's blunder in writ-
ing *Cassius Severus*. The situation is as follows: the *Octavius*
(XXI, 4) reads thus: Saturnum enim, principem huius generis
et examinis, omnes scriptores vetustatis Graeci Romanique ho-
minem tradiderunt. Scit hoc Nepos et Cassius in historia, et
Thallus ac Diodorus hoc loquuntur; and the *Apologeticus* (X,
7) thus: Saturnum itaque, si quantum litterae, neque Diodorus
Graecus aut Thallus, neque Cassius Severus aut Cornelius Nepos,
neque ullus commentator eiusmodi antiquitatum aliud quam
hominem promulgaverunt. Cassius Severus was a rhetorician,
not an historian, consequently Tertullian erred in writing the
cognomen, Severus. That this error is due to Tertullian and
not to a copyist appears from the fact that the *Ad Nationes*
(II, 12) reads as follows: exstat apud litteras vestras usque-

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[7] Cf. Cagnat, *Cours d'épigraphic latine* (1914), pp. 177 ff.; see also
Baylis, *Minucius Felix*, p. 229 and p. 235.

[8] *Minucius Felix*, pp. 304-314.

quaque Saturni census, legimus apud Cassium Severum, apud
Cornelios Nepotem et Tacitum, apud Graecos quoque Diodorum,
quive alii antiquitatum canos collegerunt. Furthermore Lactan-
tius (*Divinae Institutiones*, I. 11) wrote: Minucius Felix in eo
libro, qui Octavius inscribitur, sic argumentatus est: Satur-
num . . . . and two chapters later: Omnes ergo non tantum
poetae, sed historiarum quoque et rerum antiquarum scriptores,
hominem fuisse consentiunt . . . Graeci, Diodorus et Thallus:
Latini, Nepos, et Cassius, et Varro. Baylis has discussed Ter-
tullian's mistake, and has added an ingenious and reasonable
explanation of it.[9] Schanz says, in effect, that *a fortiori* this
error is more easily understood if the *Octavius* is the original,
the *Apologeticus* the later work.[10] The explanation here offered
supplements and in no way contradicts those mentioned above.

It has been shown that the *Octavius* cannot well have been
written between 161 and the death of Septimius Severus. If
it was written in the age of the Antonines there were, so far
as we know, two men whom Minucius may have had in mind
when he wrote *Cassius in historia.* They were the well-known
Cassius Hemina, a Latin historian, and the shadowy Greek
writer of history, Cassius Longinus, who appears to have been
little known among the ancients and whose very date is uncer-
tain. Though there is some doubt as to whom Minucius meant
by "Cassius," there is good ground for believing that he meant
Cassius Hemina; and Baylis has shown that he cannot well have
been referring to Cassius Longinus.[11] If the dialogue was com-
posed after the death of Septimius Severus, the reader when he
came upon *Cassius in historia*, might naturally have thought
of Cassius Dio, though it should have been clear to him that a
Latin Cassius was meant. But if Minucius wrote before 161
there was no need for him to be more specific than he was. If
the dialogue antedates 161, Tertullian's blunder, as will be shown
in the next paragraph, is explicable on the ground that he used
the *Octavius.*

In 180 Cassius Dio Cocceianus (*c*. 155-*c*. 235) went to Rome,

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[9] *Minucius Felix*, pp. 308, 310, 312-313.
[10] *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur* (1905) § 656.
[11] *Minucius Felix*, p. 308.

in 193 he was praetor, and in his fortieth year he took up historical writing.[12] To be sure his first work was on the dreams and signs because of which Septimius Severus aspired to the purple, and he did not publish his Roman History till much later, but it seems safe to say that, because of his position and because of the type of work which he had written, he must have been well known when Tertullian wrote his *Apologeticus* and *Ad Nationes* in 197. Accordingly Tertullian's blunder may be explained in this way. When he read, in the *Octavius,* the passage in question, he saw that the Cassius referred to was a Latin writer, but he felt that he must make clear to his own readers that this Cassius was not the well-known Cassius Dio. Therefore he took several ways of showing that Cassius was a Latin, and one of these ways was to give him the cognomen of a famous Roman writer, perhaps the only one named Cassius of whom he knew, or whose name occurred to him at the time. In doing this he made a rather stupid mistake, but it need not be considered strange that he thus erred in what for him must have been a very minor matter. Tertullian's blunder, therefore, may be explained on the ground that he had the *Octavius* before him, and, as has already been noted, this fact is an argument for the priority of the dialogue of Minucius Felix.

To sum up. It is improbable that the *Octavius* was written between 161 and 212, and more improbable that it was written between 161 and 197; further it appears to be earlier than the *Apologeticus* (197 A. D.). Therefore it is very probable that Minucius Felix wrote his dialogue before the reign of Marcus Aurelius which began in 161.

So much for the *terminus ad quem.* If it is 161 A. D., the precise determination of the *terminus post quem* is of very minor importance: first, because the general period of the dialogue is fixed; and, second, because the priority of Minucius to Tertullian is established.

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[12] Christ, *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur* II, 2⁶ (1924), § 722.

6

ADDITIONS TO "THE FIRST IDYL OF MOSCHUS IN IMITATIONS TO THE YEAR 1800"

In a very thorough and interesting study on the popularity of the *Venus Quaerens Filium* theme by James Hutton, which was published in Volume XLIX, 2 of this periodical, some imitations have remained unmentioned. This was, of course, to be expected in view of the extremely wide range of the subject. The examples from Italian, French, Spanish and Portuguese poets here given will supplement in a small way the abundant material cited by Professor Hutton.

As regards the Italian versions of the idyl, it may be remarked in passing that Tasso's sonnet adapting Sannazaro's epigram has also been attributed to Cesare Caporali,[1] and that the note appended to Longepierre's madrigal, *traduction de Marini, qui l'a imité d'une idylle de Moschus*,[2] is substantially a repetition of the caption over Marino's poem, presumably by Marino himself, in *La Lira. Rime del Cavalier Marino, Parte Seconda* (Venice, 1658, p. 3), which reads as follows: *Scherzo tirato dall'Amor fuggitivo di Mosco*. Elsewhere in the same book, *La Lira. Parte Terza*, pp. 175-180, there is a curious variation of the theme in the poem, *Christo Smarrito*. Here the Biblical story of the child Jesus among the doctors in the temple, told in the second chapter of the Gospel according to Saint Luke, follows the general outline of the pagan myth. Like Venus the Virgin seeks her lost child.

> Sospirava e spargea
> Largo di pianto un fiume
> La Dea, la vera Dea,
> Madre di vero Nume,
> Ricercando il suo core,
> Il suo smarrito, e fuggitivo Amore.

> Iva la Verginella
> Qual tortora solinga,
> Di questa parte in quella
> Peregrina, e raminga,
> De la sacra Cittade,
> Scorrendo hor quà, hor là tutte le strade.

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[1] L. Frati, *Rime inedite del Cinquecento*, Bologna, 1918, p. 68.
[2] *A. J. P.*, XLIX, p. 121.

> La valle, il piano, il colle
> Spiò dentro e d'intorno,
> E fè spesso qual folle
> Donde partì ritorno,
> Già seco afflitto e stanco
> Il santo Vecchiarel trahendo il fianco.

The child is described in much the same manner as Cupid in the Castellani version or in Tasso's handling in the *Aminta*.

> Forse non conoscete
> Il mio sposo, il mio figlio?
> Se pur qual sia, chiedete,
> E' candido, è vermiglio,
> Non ha bellezza eguale, .
> Lingua, penna, o pensier tanto non sale.

> Di colomba amorosa
> Hà le luci divine,
> Hà le labra di rosa,
> Hà d'ambra e d'oro il crine,
> Appo le guance intatte
> Foran vil paragon porpora e latte. . . .

In his *Ronsard, Poète Lyrique*,[3] Laumonier has incidentally pointed out a French translation of Sannazaro's poem by G. Bochetel, which is included among the poems that follow his translation of *Hecuba* (1554 and 1550). In addition, one of Du Bellay's odes in the *Recueil de Poesie* [4] addressed to Heroët contains a reminiscence of the theme. *Venus'* search for Cupid is vain; he has been routed by Heroët and forced to fly to his birthplace. At the same time the opening verse of Sannazaro's version is apparently adapted.

> Tu as rompu l'arc & la trousse
> Du ieune archer malitieux,
> Qui blessoit la terre & les cieulx,
> Luy baillant nature plus doulce.
> *Venus*, qui n'a plus de puissance,
> *En vain par tout cherche son filz*
> Que n'a gueres voler tu feis
> D'ici au lieu de sa naissance.

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[3] Paris, 1923, p. 616, note 12.

[4] Marty-Laveaux: *La Pléiade Françoise* (*Oeuvres Françoises de Ioachim Du Bellay*, Paris, 1866, p. 260, Vol. I.

Besides Hernando de Acuña, two other writers, Bernardo de Valbuena and Diego de Torres y Villarroel, have furnished Spanish versions of the idyl. In a sonnet in the *Siglo de Oro en las Selvas de Erifile*,[5] Valbuena has, in part, translated Sannazaro.

> Venus busca a su hijo que escondido
> Está en lo más guardado de mi pecho.
> Triste de mí, que puesto en tal estrecho.
> No sé qùal me será mejor partido
> Si encubro al que en mis venas se ha encendido,
> Dexará el coraçon ceniza hecho,
> Si descubro, con mayor despecho
> Se vengará de quien traidor le ha sido.
> Mi mal por todas partes se empeora;
> Y si a la Diosa busca el niño tierno,
> Es por la guerra que en mi pecho trama.
> Niño huydo, escóndete en buen hora,
> Mas pues te escondes, templa en mí tu fuego
> O te descubrirá tu misma llama.

Likewise in a sonnet-form, Torres y Villarroel deals with the theme, but more freely than Valbuena.[6] His version seems to bear a slight resemblance to Antonio de Ferreira's poem.

> Salió el niño de Venus más querido
> A su blanda conquista acostumbrada,
> Y tardando en volver a su morada
> Dióle la bella madre por perdido.
> Sale, corre, pregunta por Cupido,
> Impaciente, solicita, asustada,
> Mustio el color, el pelo desgreñada,
> Le busca en Pafo, búscale en Egnido.
> Búscale entre las ninfas que venera
> Más hermosas la selva, el río, el prado,
> Búscale entre las ninfas que el mar cría.
> Tocó del padre Tormes la ribera,
> Y hallóle aquí pendiente del nevado
> Cuello de la hermosísima María.

Lastly, Pedro de Andrade Caminha has made a Portuguese translation of Sannazaro's epigram, attesting once more to the wide diffusion of the latter's version of the idyl of Moschus.

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[5] Madrid, 1608, p. 141.
[6] *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, Madrid, 1901, p. 59, Vol. LXI.

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o

Venus o filho Amor que tem perdido
Por ũa e outra parte anda buscando;
E ele dentro em meu peito está escondido,
E a ira d'ambos, triste, estou receando.
Se o mostro, serei d'ele perseguido,
Se o escondo, ir-m'-ha a vida e a alma gastando;
Deixa-t'estar, Amor, menos duro,[7]
Qu'em nenhũa parte estarás mais seguro.

</div>

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BUCEPHALAS MEETS ALEXANDER

AN EMENDATION OF HISTORIA ALEXANDRI MAGNI

(PSEUDO-CALLISTHENES) I, 17

It will generally be admitted that there are passages in the Greek text of the Romance of Alexander in which no MS has preserved the true reading. In some of the MSS the correct reading may be deduced from versions in other languages, as e. g. from the Latin versions of Julius Valerius (Val) or Leo, or from the Armenian (Arm) or the Syrian (Syr). I, 17 is a passage in point, the beginning of which may be rendered as follows:

" And when Alexander was fourteen years of age, he chanced one day to be passing by the place where the horse Bucephalas was kept, and he heard a most terrible whinnying. Whereat turning to his friends he said ' Was that the whinnying of a horse, or the roaring of a lion?' And Ptolemy who was following him (who was later surnamed Soter) said 'This is Bucephalas, whom your father has shut in because of his being a man-eater.' And when the horse had heard the voice of Alexander, he whinnied a second time, not as was always his custom fearfully and mournfully (γοερόν) but softly, as though commanded by a god." At this point may be quoted the text of the Recensio Vetusta as recently edited by Wilhelm Kroll

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[7] *Poesias Ineditas* (ed. J. Priebsch), Halle, 1898, p. 40.

(Berlin, Weidmann, 1926) 'mostly on the basis of the manu-
script A: Καὶ θεασάμενος αὐτὸς ὁ Βουκέφαλος τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον
προέτεινε τοὺς πόδας ἔμπροσθεν καὶ τὰ πάντα ἐκίνησεν, ὡς τῷ ἰδίῳ
δεσπότῃ λιτανείας ὑποφαίνων. The readings of the other manu-
scripts and versions are as follows: ὑποφαίνων τὸν ἴδιον αὐθέντην Β;
ὑποφαίνων τὸν ἴδιον δεσπότην CL; δεικνύων τούτῳ δουλικὴν σχέσιν
καθὰ δεσπότῃ Byz 754 to be found in Wagner, *Trois Poèmes
grecs du Moyen Âge,* Berlin, 1881. Raabe in his retroversion
from the Armenian (Leipsic, 1896), where however he suspects
a corruption, has ὁ Βουκέφαλος . . . κατὰ τρόπον ἱκετευόντων
λιτανείας ὡς τῷ δεσπότῃ αὐτῷ προσέφερεν, which is in close agree-
ment with A.   Julius Valerius I, xvii (9) reads: Nam et pedes
priores extenderat et gesticulam mansuetudinis luserat et sup-
plici quodam motu blanditus est. The Syrian version (ed.
Budge, Cambridge, 1889) I, 16 translates the concluding por-
tion " and the horse wagged his tail like a dog." Leo (ed.
Pfister, Heidelberg, 1913) I, 17 gives: Statim caballus coepit
mansuescere amplius ut cum quando blanditur domino suo,
canis, sic et ille blandiebat Alexandro.   Ausfeld, *der griechische
Alexanderroman* (p. 40) with his customary fine intuition and
discrimination proposes as the original content of our passage:
" und schmeichelte ihm demütig."

A comparison of the readings shows three separate concep-
tions:

(1) AArmByz and possibly Val represent Bucephalas as mani-
    festing subservience or humility to his master. Note how-
    ever that *blanditus est* (Val) brings in a new element.
(2) BCL have no word like λιτανείας to express subservience;
    they merely give a hint who the master is to be, ὑποφαίνων
    τὸν ἴδιον δεσπότην (αὐθέντην).
(3) Leo and Syr both have the element of a *dog fawning upon
    his master;* Val (blanditus est) and Ausfeld (schmeichelte)
    express the fawning, but leave the dog to be implied.

Now the Greek verb of which *blanditur* or *blandiebat* or
blanditus est or *schmeichelte* would be the natural translation
is σαίνω or ὑποσαίνω, and this is only one letter removed from
the participial form ὑποφαίνων found in ABCL, in fact in all

. our Greek manuscripts except Byz which has δεικνύων. I there-
fore propose that for ὑποφαίνων there be read ὑποσαίνων with the
necessary adjustments, namely, ὡς τῷ ἰδίῳ δεσπότῃ ὑποσαίνων, or
ὡς πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον δεσπότην ὑποσαίνων, 'fawning as (a dog) upon
his own master.' Thus all our manuscript readings for this pas-
sage are reduced to a unity, σαίνω being the Greek verb regu-
larly used of a dog fawning recognition upon his master, and
ὑπο- is readily prefixed to give greater explicitness.

The original sense then was preserved by Syr, Leo, and Val,
the two former actually specifying the dog in order to make
the figure clear, while Val trusted to *blanditus est* to carry over
the meaning of the Greek ὑποσαίνων, which likewise left the
dog to be inferred. Early in the tradition by an error of
substitution ὑποσαίνων was changed to ὑποφαίνων. This left the
passage unintelligible, and accordingly A inserted λιτανείας, giv-
ing a sense which was followed by Arm and Byz. In the Greek
manuscripts BCL or their sources the reading τῷ ἰδίῳ δεσπότῃ
ὑποφαίνων was likewise felt to be unintelligible, and was in con-
sequence altered to the reading ὑποφαίνων τὸν ἴδιον δεσπότην
or αὐθέντην.

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THE SEER ARISTANDER

Aristander of Telmissus had the distinction of being seer
extraordinary to Alexander the Great during the campaign in
Asia. It fell to his lot to explain the strange flight of birds
at critical moments, to discover some happy meaning in a spring
of oil near the river Oxus, the first petroleum ever seen by
a European, and in general to interpret the many phenomena
which constantly arose. For a long time it has been suspected
that the references to Aristander, made chiefly by Arrian,
Curtius and Plutarch, might shed some light on the perplexing
problem of the sources of the history of Alexander's expedition,
but, owing to our unsatisfactory knowledge of the primary
historians themselves, it has not been possible to refer these
references definitely to any particular original source.

Our information concerning Alexander's conquest of the East comes chiefly from the so-called secondary historians—Arrian, Diodorus, Justin, Curtius and Plutarch—who wrote centuries after Alexander's death and drew their material either from a group of writers of Alexander's day or from intermediaries who did. It is a hard task to say just who all these intermediaries were, but the important thing is that all the later histories (intermediary and secondary) were based on one common source, when such a source existed. The key to the situation lies in the itinerary of Alexander, as given by the five secondary historians. If a table of parallel columns were to be drawn up of the places visited by Alexander, with a column allotted to each of the historians, an interesting fact would stand out. The sequence of the places Alexander visited is practically the same in all of them, up to some point in the year 327. This is followed by a marked divergence in the itineraries, which in turn is succeeded by an equally marked agreement.

The explanation of this requires a short digression. When Alexander set out against Asia, he appointed as his chief secretary Eumenes of Cardia, whose task it was to keep the Ephemerides, or official daily journals. Another official member of the expedition was Callisthenes of Olynthus, who wrote on the march a history of the campaign, basing his account to a certain extent on the Ephemerides. In the year 327 Callisthenes ceased writing, and sometime later, in India, the Ephemerides were destroyed. This meant that Callisthenes' history, so far as it went, was the only contemporary account of the expedition and that for the subsequent period, indeed, there was no account at all. This explains, then, the first uniformity in the itineraries noted above, for Callisthenes' history was preserved and served as the ultimate common source for all later histories. The divergence in the itineraries is explained by the lack of any common source for the period between the end of Callisthenes' history and the destruction of the Ephemerides; and the final agreement is due to the fact that the secretaries, undaunted by the loss of their work, continued to write their daily accounts and in so doing preserved a common source for the last years of the expedition.[1]

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[1] This point is taken up at length in my doctor's dissertation, to be published shortly.

The importance of the references to Aristander will·now be understood. The last time he is mentioned is during Alexander's campaign in Bactria. It is strange that a seer who is frequently mentioned, who in fact entirely monopolizes the business of prophecy, should suddenly and completely drop out of sight. There can be no explanation other than a failure somewhere in the source of these notices of Aristander. Callisthenes, as stated above, stopped writing in the year 327, for he was suspected of plotting against Alexander and was either immediately put to death at Bactra or carried about as a prisoner for sometime. The last reference to Aristander is before the arrest of Callisthenes, and it is therefore practically certain that the source of all the references to Aristander was Callisthenes' history. Aristander, then, serves as one more proof that the history of Callisthenes, so far as it went, was the original source for all later historians of Alexander.

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REPORTS.

Pp. 1-52. Nuovo Callimacho. A. Rostagni. A study of a new fragment of Callimachus, in forty elegiac verses, published in the Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Pt. XVII (1927), pp. 45-55. It gives a set defence of the poet's aims and methods, and is plainly a part of the Prologue of the Aitia. Dr. Rostagni offers a dozen suggestions toward the reconstruction of the text, and discusses its bearing on the famous controversy with Apollonius of Rhodes. He insists that both the Aitia and the Hymn to Apollo were written before 270 B. C. [Lines 21-28 may be compared with Verg. Bucol. 6, 3-5, and Geor. 3, 292-93.]

Pp. 53-77. Lacare. G. De Sanctis. Discussion of a number of fragments of a list of victors at Olympia, recently published in the Oxyrhynchus Papyri, XVII 82 ff. One or two of them refer to the tyranny of Lachares at Athens, and explain the manner in which that episode came about. The English editor suggests that they come from the Chronica of Phlegon of Tralles, a freedman of the Emperor Hadrian. Professor De Sanctis suggests a Hellenistic source, Eratosthenes.

Pp. 78-109. La polemica di Zenone d'Elea contro il movimento. Rodolfo Mondolfo. Concluded from vol. V, p. 452.

Pp. 108-17. La monogenesi di Θεός e Deus. M. G. Bartoli. Deus is not derived from θεός, but deus, Diespiter, θεός, θέσφατος are all closely related.

Pp. 118-22. La Sardegna ai tempi di Costantino Pogonato. G. De Sanctis. Text and discussion of a Byzantine inscription recently found at Porto Torres in Sardinia. It seems to refer to Constantine IV, and a victory over the Langobardi about 670-680.

Pp. 123-60. Reviews and book notices.—List of new books received.

Pp. 161-422 are devoted to the recent Italian excavations at Cyrene. This part of the volume may be bought separately, at the price of 40 lire. It contains 14 plates.

Pp. 163-182. A general account of the archaeological work done at Cyrene since 1914, with a bibliography. Carlo Anti.

Pp. 183-239. Iscrizioni di Cirene: (1) La Stele della Costituzione; (2) La Stele dei Patti; (3) La Stele dei Cereali. Gaspare Oliverio. Text and discussion of three important inscriptions, with translations of the first two.

Pp. 240-249. La data della Magna Charta di Cirene. Gaetano De Sanctis. The constitution granted to Cyrene probably applied to the whole region, not merely to the city. It may be assigned to about the middle of the third century B. C.

Pp. 250-254. La Stele dei Patti. Aldo Ferrabino.

Pp. 255-320. Nuovi studi sulle Decretali di Cirene. Achille Vogliano. Text and commentary.

Pp. 321-364. L'editto di Augusto ai Cirenei. Vincenzo Arangio-Ruiz. Text and Commentary. A long inscription containing five edicts issued by Augustus between 7 and 4 B. C. The fifth is of especial interest, as dealing with the crimen repetundarum at Cyrene.

Pp. 365-403. Il dialetto delle iscrizioni cirenaiche. Giacomo Devoto. The dialect of these new inscriptions is Doric, rather closely related to that of Thera.

Pp. 404-412. Index verborum. Paul Maas. Index to the two earliest of these inscriptions.

Miscellanea: Pp. 413-414. Paul Maas cites a passage from the Canons of Cyrene in support of the reading ἐς νέω, Theocr. XV, 143. Pp. 414-415. Achille Vogliano. Note on Ibycus, fr. 57 Bergk. Pp. 415. F. Hiller von Gaertringen. Notes on an elegiac fragment published in the Notiziario, IV (1927), 212. Pp. 416-422. Bruno Lavagnini. Il centurione di Bu Ngem (Q. Avidius Quintianus).

Pp. 423-453. Ancora *deus* e θεός e una legge del ritmo arioeuropeo. Matteo Bartoli. The author proposes a new phonetic law: if in prehistoric Aryo-European the penult was long, it was accented; if it was short, the accent fell on the last syllable.

Pp. 454-475. Lattanzio e le Storie di Seneca Padre. Luigi Castiglioni. Discussion of a passage of Lactantius, Inst. vii. 15, 4, which is apparently a quotation from the Elder Seneca's history of Rome.

Pp. 476-499. Elena e l'εἴδωλον. Vittore Pisani. A study of various accounts of Helen and her εἴδωλον. The writer offers a Sanskrit parallel, from Rigveda, x, 17, 2, where Saraṇyū = Ἑλένη.

Pp. 500-506. Un nuovo frammento dei Giambi di Ipponatte. Goffredo Coppola. Study of a new fragment of Hipponax found at Oxyrhynchus in 1928.

Pp. 507-508. Catalogi Hesiodei fragmentum Vitellianum proposuit Guilelmus Croenert.

Pp. 509-510. Il prologo degli Αἴτια e Gregorio Nazianzeno. Quintino Cataudella.

Pp. 511-515. Servio Tullio nel Pap. Oxy. 2088. Mario Attilio Levi.

Pp. 516-522. Appunti all' iscrizione onoraria di Flavio Giunio Quarto Palladio. Attilio Degrassi. Notes on an honorary inscription recently found on the Aventine, and published in Bull. della Comm. archeol. com. di Roma, LIV (1927), 35 ff. The Palladius referred to is the friend and colleague of the poet Claudian (Carm. Min. 25). The expression ius habuit probably means ' deemed right.'

Pp. 523-527. Un pagamento degli Epidauri. G. De Sanctis. Note on an inscription from the second half of the third century B. C. The Epidaurians paid 5600 drachmas to an Arcadian people near Mantinea. This was accepted as 80 minae (70 drachmas to the mina).

Pp. 528-531. Ipogei e stucchi dell' Isola Sacra (Chiosa alla " Basilica " di Porta Maggiore). Goffredo Bendinelli. Note on a pagan tomb recently discovered near Ostia (Notizie degli Scavi, LIII, p. 150). It cannot be later than the time of Trajan.

Pp. 532-581. Reviews and book notices. Pp. 582-592. Notes and news. Pp. 593-608. List of new books received.

W. P. MUSTARD.

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MNEMOSYNE, Vol. LVI (1928).

Pp. 1-28. P. H. Damsté, Spicilegium Criticum ad Apulei Metamorphoseon Libros. Emendation of some 80 passages.

Pp. 29-54. A. J. Kronberg, Ad Apuleium. Emendation of some 60 passages.

Pp. 55-59. W. E. J. Kuiper, De Bacchylidis Carmine XVIII. a) In verse 15, τί ἦν is probably the correct reading; it is easily interpreted if one admits a divided chorus as in XVI. b) In verse 9, τι καινόν is probably correct.

Pp. 60-69. C. Brakman, Liviana V. Interpretation and emendation of passages from 1, 21, 1 to 21, 52, 1. (Continued from Mnemos. 55, p. 286).

Pp. 70-78. C. Brakman, Tacitus quae de Astrologia iudicaverit. R. Pöhlmann in " Die Weltanschauung des Tacitus " (Sitzungsber. d. Bayer. Akad. d. Wissensch. 1910) has accused Tacitus of inconsistency in his views concerning astrology. The author shows that Tacitus was converted to belief in astrology about the year 105. His mention of the wrath of the gods in later years was for dramatic effect.

P. 78. P. H. D., Suevi-Saevi. Carmina · quae dicuntur Burana, ed. J. A. Schmeller, 1904, Carmen 52, p. 146, Suevi is not to the point; saevi is appropriate.

Pp. 79-80. H. I. Rose, Iterum de Virginibus Vestalibus. The fact that the Vestals put their hands to preparing food shows that they represent the functions of daughters rather than those of matres familiarum.

Pp. 81-92. J. H. Thiel, De Antiphontis Oratione Prima. a) The structure is: Proemium, 1-4; argumentatio, 5-13; narratio, 14-20; amplificatio, 21-27; a section in lieu of witnesses, 28-30. b) The accusation was of φόνος ἐκούσιος, which term includes φάρμακα ἐκούσια, and is not limited to death caused by a blow.

Pp. 93-101. Wm. Rollo, Quo tempore Lycophron Alexandram composuerit. The date of composition is set at shortly after 275.

Pp. 102-105. G. Vollgraff, ΤΗΧΙΠΠΟΣ. The proper names Τήχιππος and Τάχιππος are not to be explained as if from ταχυ—, as Ταχύβουλος, Ταχακλῆς, but from θήγειν, θάγειν, meaning to goad on; cf. equum acuere, Stat. Silv. 5, 2, 25; Mart. Cap. 9, 925; also Σπεύσιππος.

Pp. 106. P. I. Koets, Titulus (I. G. III, 893) restitutus. This inscription seems to be identical with I. G. VII, 3430, which is far less mutilated, and therefore should be restored with the latter as guide.

P. 107. Ch. Ch. Charitonides, Galenus correctus. Galen vol. 9, p. 703 Kuhn, ὡς εἴρηταί τε καὶ λέλεκται πολλάκις should be ὡς εἴρηταί τε καὶ λελέξεται πολλάκις.

P. 107. E. H. S. et P. M., Ad Inscriptionem Atticam, Mnemos. 53, p. 415.

P. 108. Corrigendum, Mnemos. 55, p. 419, l. 13.

Pp. 109-138. J. C. Naber, Observatiunculae ad Papyros Iuridicae. (Continued from Mnemos. 55, p. 238). περὶ διαγραφῶν. Examples ranging from 27 B. C. to A. D. 293. Addenda to the author's article in Mnemos. 54, περὶ χαραγμάτων.

Pp. 139-158. C. Brakman, Annaeana. Emendation and interpretation of some 50 passages in the Senecan Corpus.

Pp. 159-168. J. D. Meerwaldt, De Verborum quae vulgo dicuntur Imitativa Natura et Origine. The development of the shades of meaning of παίζειν, κουρίζειν, κουρίζεσθαι, and ὑποκουρίζεσθαι is traced.

Pp. 169-185. C. Brakman, Apuleiana. Emendation of

Apuleius in addition to the author's earlier observations in Mnemos. 34-37 and "Revue de l'Instruction publique en Belgique" 50.

Pp. 186-192. K. H. E. de Jong, De Horatio Hannibali inimico. The author quotes allusions to Hannibal from Cicero, Nepos, Livy, Trogus-Justinus, Valerius Maximus, Pliny, Lucan, and Florus, showing that in several cases he is spoken of with admiration. In all passages in Horace, however, he is disparaged. The reasons for this are: a) That Horace came from a region which suffered particularly at the hands of the Carthaginians, and b) that the natures and characters of Hannibal and Horace were so opposed that Horace could not treat of him sympathetically.

Pp. 193-201. J. G. P. Borleffs, Observationes Criticae ad Tertulliani ad Nationes Libros. Emendation from Ad Nat. 1, 3 (62, 11) to 1, 16 (87, 23).

Pp. 202-206. J. D. Meerwaldt, De Sermonis Puerilis apud ignotum quendam Comicum Ratione et Usu. Eustathius, p. 1535, 20. I a) The transition ἄρκτον—ἄρτον needs no special comment; cf. Netherlandic markt, mart. b) Τυρὼ—τροφαλλίδα. The latter word is a gloss for τυρίον; the reading should therefore be τὴν δὲ Τυρὼ Τυρίον. c) ἄστυ rendered σῦκα. This is a case of double metathesis; σῦτα, and then the τ-κ interchange. II The fragment belongs to the New Comedy.

Pp. 207-213. G. Vrind, Asinii Pollionis Iudicium de Caesaris Commentariis. Suetonius, Caes. 56, mentions Pollio's poor opinion of the reliability of Caesar's reports in *De Bello Gallico*. The author compares B..G. 1, 7, 3-6 and 1, 8, 3 with Dio, Hist. 38, 31, 3-38, 32, 1; B. G. 1, 12, 2-7 with Appian, Celt. Epit. 1, 3, and 15, and Plutarch, Caes. 18; B. G. 1, 11, 2 with Dio 38, 32, 3. In each case he considers Caesar's account at fault, either through a lapse of memory or purpose (in the second example) and thus Pollio's view is vindicated.

Pp. 214-219. P. H. Damsté, De Propertii Elegiarum Libro IV. This book is the work of Propertius, but published after his death and after A. D. 2.

Pp. 220-222. I. I. E. Hondius et G. Vollgraff, Epigramma Atticum.

P. 222. G. V., Epigramma Acarnanicum.

Pp. 223-224. F. Muller, "Augustus." The title in the light of Verg. Ec. 4, 49.

Pp. 225-242. J. G. P. Borleffs, Observationes Criticae ad Tertulliani ad Nationes Libros. (Continued from p. 201). Passages emended to Ad. Nat. 2, 17 (133, 8).

Pp. 243-253. J. de Zwaan, Scripseritne Marcus Latine Evangelium Suum? The author reaches a negative conclusion, at variance with that of P. L. Couchoud in " Revue de l'Histoire des Religions," 1926, pp. 161-192, and based on an argumentum e silentio; if Mark had written it in Latin it would have been noted in Papias in Euseb. H. E. 3, 39, 16.

Pp. 254-270. C. Brakman, Quando Pervigilium Veneris conditum est? The author believes that the verses were composed by a member of the circle of Q. Aurelius Symmachus.

Pp. 271-272. P. H. Damsté, Ad Pervigilium Veneris. Emendation of verses 22, 34, 82, and 84.

Pp. 273-298. J. van Ijzeren, Vindiciae Antimacheae. The title is explanatory of the article.

Pp. 299-310. H. D. Verdam, De Carmine Simonideo, quod interpretatur Plato in Protagora Dialogo. a) Plato is not serious but jesting in his interpretation; see also Gomperz, " Griechische Denker," 2, 256. b) The author's interpretation.

P. 310. Ch. Charitonides, Aristides Corrigendus. Correction of Vol. II p. 665. 3 Dind.

Pp. 311-312. H. I. Rose, De Caenei ΑΤΡΩΣΙΑΣ. Caeneus' invulnerability was not proof against trunks of trees (Hyginus 14, p. 45, 3 Schmidt).

Pp. 313-314. Ch. Ch. Charitonides, In Lexicographos. Emendation of some passages in Phrynichus, ΛΕΞ. PHTOP., Suidas, and Hesychius.

Pp. 315-328. G. Vollgraff, Arx Argorum. Description of excavations carried on in June, July, and August, 1928, at Larissa; with 17 plates.

Pp. 329-389. F. Muller, Stili differentia quatenus ex historia terminationis cuiusdam -ere, -erunt appareat. The author examines the actual and relative frequency of the two endings in the works of various poets and prose authors. A chart is given showing the occurrence in the different feet of hexameter verse of Lucretius; Vergil's Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid; Lucan, etc. -ere is relatively most frequent in the Aeneid, least frequent in Juvenal. In Livy -ere is more frequent in the earlier decades. The explanation is that as Livy's work progressed, its type became more and more the sort that should be treated as a prose narrative of res gestae, without the poetic embellishment that was not out of place in the earlier books.

Pp. 390-394. J. H. Thiel, Antiphontea. 1) Concerning retractatio in Antiphon's first oration. 2) Emendation of a passage in its third paragraph.

Pp. 395-408. B. A. van Groningen, De tributo quod ΕΙΣΦΟΡΑ dicitur. This was a single tax on total ratables, notwithstanding Plato, Leg. 12, 955 d, where the dual is used. Thucydides says that the first tribute was payed at Athens in 428; I. G. 1, 42 indicates that it was known between 466 and 431. Thucydides must mean the first tribute after the beginning of the Peloponnesian War. The author claims to find a reference to this sort of tax in Hom. Od. 13, 13-14. The passage in Arist. Pol. E 11, 1313 b 18 ff., at the words ἡ εἰσφορὰ τῶν τελῶν he would emend ἡ εἰσφορὰ [τῶν τελῶν] considering the part bracketed as a marginal gloss. The author treats of this sort of tribute as rendered to tyrants. He speaks of P. Schneider's note on Arist. Oec. 2, 1349 b 6, " εἰσφορά also hier dasselbe was 1346 a 3 ἐπικαρπία oder δεκάτη " as incorrect.

Pp. 409-414. J. D. Meerwaldt, De verborum quae vulgo dicuntur imitativa natura et origine. The author speaks of several verbs in -ιζω.

P. 415. H. I. Rose, Apollodorus Antiphontis filius. Emendation of inscription 510 in Maiuri, Nuova silloge epigrafica di Rodi e Cos, 1925 (cf. A. Wilhelm, A. M. 51, p. 11) in order that the tetrameter stand correctly.

<div align="right">CLAYTON M. HALL.</div>

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Lexikon Altillyrischer Personennamen, by HANS KRAHE; Heidelberg, Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung (Indogermanische Bibliothek, 3te Abteilung, Band 9), 1929; paper 10.50, bound 12.50 RM. Pp. vii, 174; 5¼ × 8¼ in.

Knowledge of scantily recorded Indo-European languages is gradually being won by the painstaking collection of scattered material. It was right for comparative grammarians to occupy themselves first solely with the abundant records of the better-known tongues of which the literature, traditional comment, and interpretation afforded a firm foundation of facts. But no one ever believed that Brugmann's eightfold subdivision of the Indo-European family of languages was final. In the present century we have already seen the addition of hitherto unknown north Iranian dialects, of Tocharish, and of the newly discovered Hittite. No one knows how many other Indo-European tongues have ceased to be spoken and still await discovery. Meanwhile something can be done by collecting the fragments, those fascinating *disiecta membra,* of the speech of more than one people, vanished and usually *infelix, cuius nulla historia.* Thus Phrygian is gradually being restored, but still remains to be classified; Thracian is known from a solitary inscription, and a handful of local, personal, and divine names. And Illyrian was in like case until Dr. Krahe came to its rescue.

What with pressure from wild tribes behind them, internal strife, and finally Roman domination, a *pax* of the kind, apparently, that Tacitus made famous by calling it by a very different name, the ancient Illyrians seem to have been well-nigh annihilated rather than absorbed by their more powerful western neighbours. Certainly the commonly-held view, which makes modern Albanian the descendant of Illyrian, and so presumably its speakers in some degree, however slight, the descendants of the Illyrians, has never been proved, and had now better be abandoned. We know enough of Old Illyrian to be sure of that; but the little that, thanks to Krahe, we now know, only makes us eager, like Oliver, for more.

Krahe published last year in *Indogermanische Forschungen* (vol. 46, 1928, pp. 183 sqq.) the only known Illyrian inscription; he issued in 1925 an admirable collection of the Illyrian local and ethnic names, and now he gives us, equally good, his collection of their personal and divine names (with a supplement, pp. 132 sqq., of additional local names), and promises shortly to set forth in a formal arrangement what can be deduced about their

speech. Happily his material is more manageable in bulk than the unwieldly collections comprised in the three volumes (still incomplete) of Holder's *Altceltischer Sprachschatz*, and we await eagerly his further work, meanwhile congratulating him on his present performance.

Answers to some questions will be awaited with special interest. Is Illyrian an independent Indo-European tongue? How far is Messapic to be counted Illyrian? How closely is Messapic related to Venetic, and Venetic to Raetic? It is to be regretted that Krahe, while including, at least for purposes of comparison, a survey of Messapic and Venetic names, has not given us *all* the Raetic material but only some of the names which appear in Latin inscriptions from the Raetic area or in Classical authors. But there are now some sixty Raetic inscriptions known (*Prae-Italic Dialects* nos. 188-253, in the press, cf. *C. Q.* 17, 1923; pp. 61 sqq.), and at least one Raetic gloss. Certainly the Raetic *reitie* should have been given on p. 98 (cf. Sommer, *Idg. Forsch.* 42, 1924, p. 107). But we must not be ungrateful for the carefully collected and sifted material before us.

Some error of judgment is inevitable in deciding what to reject and what to admit in assembling from partly or mainly foreign sources the meagre survivals of a vanished tongue. Krahe has adopted the wise expedient of marking by special symbols names that are only probably or but doubtfully Illyrian. We may expect that further study will make it possible definitely to accept or to exclude most of these doubtful items. But the names enclosed in square brackets, which Krahe himself counts non-Illyrian might well have been omitted altogether except where they are to be compared with admittedly Illyrian names, and in such cases the proper place for them was in the notes. They are, however, very few in number.

Two valuable features of the book may be noted: the very full references to earlier discussions on many of the names, mostly scattered through the periodical literature and probably forgotten (or never read) by all save the handful of scholars interested in things Illyrian; and the twenty pages of comment on the personal names, in which their radical and formative elements are analysed. There is also a useful index of names quoted or discussed in places where the running alphabetical arrangement of the body of the book would not at once reveal them.

Besides the important fact that Albanian is no offspring of Old Illyrian there emerge two others. It cannot be without significance that common Illyrian names (e. g. *Bato, Dasius, Plator*) are unknown to Venetic records; on the other hand Krahe holds that Messapic will be shown to be more closely related to Old Illyrian than to Venetic, or than Venetic to Illyrian. As to this last conclusion, the reviewer feels some

doubt: we have, for example, Ven. *Ecco* beside Mess. (Tarentine) ῎Ικκος (for *῎Εκκος? Cf. *Language,* vol. 3, 1927, p. 231), Ven. *Nerika* and Mess. *Nerikiden,* Ven. and Mess. *Kelo,* and among the local names Ven. *Brundulum* and Mess. *Brundisium.* Krahe connects ῎Ικκος with a Dalmatian *Icus,* but it is to be observed that Messapic consonant gemination is no haphazard occurrence: *-kk-* from *-ku̯-* is not unreasonable in Messapic (from *-ki̯-* it would be certain), but it can hardly come from *-k-*. The Ven. *Ecco, Kelo,* and Mess. *Kelo* Krahe appears to have overlooked altogether, and some other Venetic and Messapic names might have been included to advantage.

Even the Classical scholar will find an occasional name of interest in Krahe's book and will learn, for example, if by chance he had not been prepared to take the word of Servius, that *Varro* is genuinely Illyrian, and *Drus(s)us* (cf. *C. Q.* 19, 1925, p. 69), and perhaps the Umbrian *Grabovius.* *Cato* too (both m. and f.) is Illyrian as well as Italic; if *Graecus,* however, is ultimately Illyrian (p. 97), it still remains far from clear how the Romans came to call the Hellenes by that name, and on the whole the view appears to be more probable that the Romans first met it on the bay of Naples (cf. Bury, *Hist. of Greece,* p. 95, Nissen, *Ital. Landesk.* I, p. 120), or at any rate that they did not get it directly from the Messapians. Striking is the large number of cognomina in *-a* (e. g. *Licca, Reita*), a formation which, when it appears in Latin (*Cinna, Casca*), has usually been regarded as Etruscan. In Raetic I was formerly inclined to refer it to the same origin, but it may turn out to have been Illyrian, although, as Krahe points out, the relationship of the Illyrian and Etrusco-Latin *a*-suffix now deserves further enquiry, the more so since a suffix identical in shape appears also in local (originally gentile?) names—among them river-names which are doubtless important for the Ligurian *asco*-formations (cf. *Harv. Stud. Class. Philol.,* vol. 38, 1927, p. 9). *Teuta,* being feminine, is not difficult; it is of course the name of the well-known queen, but was it not originally a mere title, ' Queen, Majesty '—*l'état* (Osc. *touta* ' civitas '), *c'est moi,* compare the ' Sikan ' *Teutos* quoted by Polyaen. 5. 1. 4 as the name of a king, Thracian ῾Ρῆσος (Hirt, *Idg. Gram.* 1, p. 30, compares Lat. *rēx*), and perhaps the Gaulish *Brennus?* Of this same stem *teut-, -eu-* forms it is interesting to observe are Illyrian, Dalmatian, and Macedonian; *-au-* is recorded only from S. Italy (Beneventum), where it must correspond to the Messapic spelling with *-ao-*, whatever the precise sound indicated by Messapic *-ao-* and the source of that spelling may have been. For my own part I believe that *-ao-(-o-)* denotes an *ou* or *ū* sound as in the coin legends of Uria (*orra*) and Uzentum (*aozen, ozen*), that it originated in the gen. sg. of original long diphthongal stems (*āu̯*-stems), viz. *-āu̯os > āu̯s,*

written -*aos*, the unaccented *au* then becoming *ū* (cf. *éx-cludo*),
but survived (beside the older *o*) as a device for indicating *ū*
more clearly since the Messapic alphabet had no *u*-symbol; the
Messapic *eu* (written *eo*) is, therefore, merely conservatism in
the writing of proper names, since the original diphthong *eu*,
like the *secondary* unaccented diphthong *au*, had become *ou*, or
ū, just as in Latin *eu* became *ou*, *ū*.

With the Illyr. *Meitime* (p. 73) Krahe rightly compares, after
Pauli, the ' East Italic ' (so-called ' Old Sabellic ') *meitimem*,
but has missed Lindsay's interesting comparison (*Academy*, vol.
50, 1896, p. 312) of Illyr. Αὐδάτα (Krahe, p. 12) and East Ital.
aodatos (on the Cupra Marittima stone). But Krahe has evi-
dently spared no effort to make his work as complete as possible.
It would be unjust to dwell upon small points of reading, and,
in general, in the citation of forms a high standard of accuracy
has been attained both in matters of text and in the mechanical
work of printing. On p. 39 the coin legend given as εδαμαιβε
after Mionnet should be rather εδαμαιρε, which is certainly the
reading of the British Museum specimens, as I know from study
of the originals; and on p. 63 the vase inscription Λάσιμος should
be marked as doubtful, since the first letter is more probably Δ
not Λ. A recent communication from M. Michon, of the Musées
du Louvre, where the vase now is, tells me that the first letter is
Λ with a slight mark between the two limbs, possibly if not
certainly intentional, and I should be tempted to compare Δ for
Δ as in the vases published by Pottier, *Vases antiques du Louvre*,
3 série, 1922, pp. 161 sqq., especially since, as Kretschmer
pointed out (*Vasensinschr.* p. 217), the change from *d* to *l* is
otherwise unrecorded in S. Italy, where *Dasimo-* is a very com-
mon name. But I have worked through Krahe's book without
having many additions of the kind to make—more often with
great profit to my own studies. It is an extremely valuable
contribution to a very interesting subject.

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A History of Sanskrit Literature by A. BERRIEDALE KEITH,
    D. C. L., D. Litt., of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law,
    and Advocate, Regius Professor of Sanskrit and Compara-
    tive Philology and Lecturer on the Constitution of the
    British Empire in the University of Edinburgh. Oxford
    University Press, American Branch, New York, 1928.
    Price $9.

This excellent work has two peculiarities. The first is the
allocation to the Preface of complementary notes treating of

literature published since the book was finished three years ago
(Jan. 1926). Such notes are usually added at the end of a
volume and accompanied with page-references. This is better
than the present plan of plunging the reader at once into a mass
of " up to date " observations, referring to matters of which he
has as yet no cognizance and which he will find difficult to adjust
to their proper places in the main text. The second peculiarity
is more serious, since it consists in giving to the whole volume a
title to which it cannot lay claim. A " history of Sanskrit litera-
ture " which omits not only all the early Vedic literature (and
by conventional usage, as in Macdonell's " Sanskrit Literature,"
the Veda would naturally be included), but also the chief drama,
the two great epics, and the Purāṇas, and confines itself almost
exclusively to the literature of *circa* 400 to 1000 A. D., is com-
parable to a " history of Greek literature " which should omit
everything before Theocritus. The author implies as much in
the opening sentence of his Preface: " Taken in conjunction
with my Sanskrit Drama, published in 1924, this work covers
the field of Classical Sanskrit literature, as opposed to the Vedic
literature, the epics, and the Puranas." To compensate for
omissions, the author adds discussions on some works not in
Sanskrit but in dialect, and comments on a number of others
which cannot be called literature, such as works on law, medicine,
and lexicography. He does indeed rather strangely compare the
law-book of Manu with Lucretius' poem, but even from a syntac-
tical point of view his remarks are sometimes cryptic, as when he
challenges criticism with the statement: " The appearance of
great poets of the calibre of Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, and Māgha so
eclipsed earlier efforts that their works and even their names
passed into oblivion." The " their " is awkwardly obscure.

But, as already said, this is an excellent work. It is divided
into three parts. The first discusses the language and dialects;
the second, belles-lettres and poetics; the third, scientific litera-
ture, which includes (in the author's use of the word scientific)
inter alia grammars, metres, and mathematics, as well as phi-
losophy, religion and the science of love.

The outstanding merits of Professor KEITH's book (pp. xxxvi,
575) are these. It gives a full description of the origins of each
branch of literature represented, an analysis and representative
passages (in the original text and in translation) of the most
important works of the classical period (except for the omis-
sions noted above), and discusses the various opinions of mod-
ern scholars regarding authors and dates. It also gives, some-
what summarily, the author's own judgment in regard to vexed
questions, but this judgment is usually as sound as it is con-
servative. To many new theories urged with more ingenuity
than persuasion KEITH turns an attentive ear but remains un-

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convinced. His work covers an immense field and especially for those (presumably in India) unacquainted with Winternitz's *Geschichte der Indischen Literatur* it is the only work of such compass; in any case, it is the only work which illustrates the great domain of classical Sanskrit so fully and so well, especially in the field of Kāvya, that is, those works written in consciously fine, studied, language and metre, all the "elegant" literature, that of the great dramatists and their followers, the lesser epic poets, the lyric poets, the writers of didactic poetry. Tales, romances, and history, as well as theories of poetry, are included in this division; also a satisfactory discussion of the relation between the East and the West, of the romance in Greece and India.

In the matter of language, that is in regard to the relation between Sanskrit and popular dialects, KEITH suggests that the difference of speech between social classes sufficiently explains the synchronous use of Sanskrit and Prākrit, as an English Squire may use dialect with his tenants, and believes that as late as our era (or later?), Sanskrit was still a spoken language and not very dissimilar to the speech of the lower classes. We think he is quite right. It is inconceivable that the epics, composed in fair Sanskrit (not "translated from Prākrit"), were not intelligible to the audiences who first heard them recited. There is a steady advance in the use of dialect in the drama from *circa* A. D. 100 to 400. The author tacitly agrees with Winternitz in dating Kālidāsa, the greatest Hindu dramatist, as "before A. D. 472, probably c. 400" (Winternitz gives 350-472 as the probable date). Max Müller's theory of a Sanskrit renaissance KEITH of course rejects, because it ignores the Brahmanical revival of an earlier date; but he rejects also the later theory of the priority of a Prākrit (dialectic) lyric. He does not agree with Bhandarkar in allocating Açvaghoṣa (and Kaniṣka) to the third century, but dates the poet and his royal patron as *çirca* A. D. 100 and places him before (not after, as some have argued) Kālidāsa, as well as before Bhāsa. Pāṇini, by the way, is ascribed to the fourth century B. C., a much more probable date than that assumed by many scholars.

A good description of the Arthaçāstra includes a comparison between Kauṭilya and Machiavelli. KEITH, we think rightly, takes sides with those who refuse to believe in the antiquity of this work, which nowhere recognizes the existence of an empire such as that of the emperor whose minister Kauṭilya is supposed to have been, and is not in harmony with the statements of Megasthenes as to the officials and construction of the imperial city. The Arthaçāstra is more likely to have been written in the third or fourth century after Christ than in the third century before. It is indebted to Yājñavalkya

(c. 300 A. D.). KEITH's attitude is sceptical also as regards fable-migration between Egypt and India, and frankly scornful in respect of Hertel's late date of the Rig Veda and Zoroaster and the theory that Aryans lived under strong Mitanni influence till they turned East and became respectively Indians and Persians, *circa* 1400 B. C. Under the head of gnomic poetry, it might have been stated that some of the specimens, such as *satyena dhāryate prthvī*, are epic before becoming part of a late anthology and the epic didactic should have been mentioned before making a start with an author of the seventh century A. D. To this century, by the way, KEITH ascribes Daṇḍin and Subandhu, a contemporary of Bāṇa though his work " came to fruition before Bāṇa's."

KEITH's summing up of this late Sanskrit poetry in a single section headed " The Achievement " is admirable. The author is more than sympathetic. While admitting the conventionality of the themes used by the poets, he insists on the great merit of Sanskrit poetry. " The poets had complete command of the ordinary emotions . . . they know to the full the nature of love . . . of sorrow . . . their love of nature is intimate and real . . . their descriptive power is undeniable . . . humor comes naturally to many of them . . . they are capable of rapid and luminous narrative."

The author is rather illogical in always using the form Brahmin for Brahman while writing Brahmanism and Brahmanical. But this is one of the slight faults to be found in a work deserving high praise.[1]

E. WASHBURN HOPKINS.

Syntactica. Studien und Beiträge zur historischen Syntax des Lateins, von EINAR LÖFSTEDT. Erster Teil: Über einige Grundfragen der lateinischen Nominalsyntax. Lund. 1928. Pp. xx + 289. (Acta Reg. Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis. x. 1.)

This is one of the most satisfactory treatises on syntax that I have ever read. Professor LÖFSTEDT shows throughout a combination of competence, sanity and reserve that is most unusual among scholars. A devoted admirer, and justly so, of Wackernagel, he nevertheless maintains an independent attitude towards many of Wackernagel's views, while he states his own with a modesty that predisposes to acceptance. The present work is the

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[1] It is significant of the kindly despotism under which the poor scholars of America help to feed their wealthy compatriots that the price of this book in England is one pound five shillings and in America nine dollars.

outcome of a course of lectures on Latin Syntax, supplemented by extensive special studies, largely in the field of Late Latin.

Part I is concerned with concord, cases, and negatives. No attempt is made to present a complete treatment of any of these subjects—that is left for the grammars, but questions of general theory, and unusual or anomalous constructions, which are as a rule inadequately handled in the grammars, form the principal matter.

In noticing a treatise of such extent, it is impossible to go into detail. I have therefore selected a few points for comment.

A new category of the genitive, called after Schulze and Raabe the Genetiv der Rubrik, or the Genetivus Tituli, is accepted, under which to group the phrases lucri, damni, compendi, dispendi, sumpti facere and dotis dare. This is based upon the view of Wackernagel that the genitive in -i is derived from an original adverbial case in -i, which combines with verbs signifying 'machen' and 'werden' to form the meaning 'dazu machen (werden), 'dessen teilhaft machen (werden),' 'in dessen Bereich bringen (kommen).' This ingenious view is the basis of Bennett's treatment of the genitive of value in his Syntax of Early Latin. In accepting this view, Löfstedt rejects rather curtly the suggestion that these phrases might be referred to the Partitive or Possessive category. In this I think he is mistaken. While I am unable to see how these uses can be referred with any plausibility to the Partitive category, they come quite readily from the Possessive. It must be remembered that damni facere, etc. are mercantile expressions. The substantives signify roughly Profit and Loss. Business tends to regard Profit and Loss as persons with a possessive function, they have accounts as do persons. Hence the term Rubrik or titulus is quite apt to describe these uses, not as an independent category but as a subcategory of the Possessive. Dotis dare might be analogical or we may have dare used with the sense 'put.' The Genitive of Price is quite properly referred by Löfstedt to the Genitive of Quality.

In an interesting chapter 'Zur Entwicklung des Dativs' Löfstedt takes, as it seems to me, the only sane view, namely that the dative is a composite case. Morphologically, as he concedes, it remains a crux. But until its form is certainly explained, we are free to explain its functions in the easiest way, and this is not the way of the 'Localists.' As Löfstedt well says, every dative construction *can* be explained as originally local, but this requires such a straining and twisting as to rob the explanation of all plausibility. Such expressions as it caelo clamor on which the Localists rely greatly really involve personification, and the dative is one of personal interest, whether benignant or malignant. A whole chapter is devoted to the

Dativus Sympatheticus. The name was coined by Havers after a note by Gildersleeve on Pindar, Pyth. III. 46, where he says that ' ἀνθρώποισιν (is) more sympathetic than ἀνθρώπων.' I can see no advantage in this name over the customary term ' personal interest,' which is actually what it means, and ' personal interest ' has many advantages in English over ' sympathetic,' but the latter may have more value in general Syntax. LÖFSTEDT'S discussion of this group of usages is very keen.

In the discussion of the Ablative I pick out the section on the Ablative of Cause as being disappointing, as it is also in the grammars. LÖFSTEDT, while admitting the possible origin of some of these ablatives in the idea of source, that is in the true ablative, regards the majority of them as instrumental. In this he seems to me to be sound. But I miss his usual clearness in distinguishing the true and the false. The category of cause has come to include a number of usages that are, strictly speaking, not causal at all. Cause is, in the real sense, an active force. It is therefore animate or so felt. The passions are a conspicuous example of such personification. Hence genuine cause is source, and we find the prepositions commonly employed. But it is very easy to confuse the cause with the instrument, especially when the agent is not indicated. Then too, the shortening of phrases contributes to the confusion. Thus his rebus adducti readily shortens into his rebus, and we call the latter loosely ablative of cause. In fact, we need a more careful organization of the constructions usually grouped under the head of cause. I was disappointed not to find this in this treatise.

I must not fail to emphasize the great contribution to Latin historical syntax that LÖFSTEDT has made by his extensive studies in late Latin, many results of which are incorporated here. These supply a great gap in our knowledge and make this book of exceptional value.

GONZALEZ LODGE.

Lucan, with an English Translation by J. D. DUFF. The Civil War, Books I-X. London: William Heinemann; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, MCMXXVIII. xvi + 638 pp. $2.50.

The Loeb Classical Library now offers an excellent prose version of Lucan. The Latin text (and occasionally the translation) follows very closely the recent edition by Professor A. E. Housman, Oxford, 1926 (*A.J.P.* XLVII 201). The translation does not profess to be a literal version of the original; "Lucan's manner of expression is so artificial that such a version would be

unintelligible to an English reader, unless it were supplemented
by copious notes." For example, Lucan is excessively fond of
apostrophe, " often a metrical device, and often a meaningless
convention," but in Mr. DUFF's translation the figure is generally
ignored. The introduction is brief but good; there is no appara-
tus criticus, and no formal bibliography. The book is very care-
fully printed, though something seems to have happened to the
last line of p. 439, " a ship presading her sail."

<div align="right">W. P. MUSTARD.</div>

A. G. AMATUCCI.   *Storia della Letteratura latina cristiana.*
    Bari, Laterza, 1929.   361 pp.   30 Lire.

This is an excellent study of Christian Latin literature, written
by a distinguished professor of the University of Rome. It
divides the subject into three periods: I. from the beginnings to
Ambrose; II. from Ambrose to Augustine; III. from the first
half of the Fifth Century to the first half of the Seventh. Pro-
fessor AMATUCCI has read and considered all the important
modern books in his field—Harnack, Manitius, Monceaux, De
Labriolle, and the rest—but his judgment is always quite inde-
pendent. He insists, for example, that the language and ritual
of the early Church, both in Africa and at Rome, must have been
Latin rather than Greek. And he maintains that the Octavius
of Minucius Felix cannot be later than Tertullian's Apologeti-
cum; that it must have been written between 162 and 165.[1]

<div align="right">W. P. MUSTARD.</div>

Cicero, the Verrine Orations, with an English Translation by
    L. H. G. GREENWOOD.   Volume I.   London: William
    Heinemann, Ltd.; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons,
    MCMXXVIII.   xxii + 504 pp. $2.50.

This volume contains Cicero's speech against Caecilius, the
First speech against Verres, and books I and II of the Second
speech. The text is based on a comparison of the best modern
editions, and shows independent judgment throughout. The
translation is good. P. 319, l. 24, " four hundred thousand "
is a slip of the pen for " four thousand." Pp. 200, l. 20, has
nimus, for nimis, or nimium; p. 284, l. 16, sclerato, for scelerato.
P. 223, l. 17, is the expression " admit to stealing " now recog-
nized as good English?

<div align="right">W. P. MUSTARD.</div>

[1] But compare above, p. 189.—C. W. E. M.

Beiträge zur Lehre vom indogermanischen Charakter der etrus-
kischen Sprache. I. Teil. Von EMIL GOLDMANN, Profes-
sor an der Universität Wien. Heidelberg, Carl Winter's
Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1929. Pp. x + 150.

Professor GOLDMANN, in the first sections of this volume, builds
upon the results which he reached in his Ricerche Etrusche (in
Studi Etruschi II, 209-286 [1928]): that in Etruscan the stem
am- means 'day' and nac- means 'night,' and these show un-
mistakable Indo-European quality, cf. Greek (Dor.) ἀμέρα and
νυκτ-. From this as premise, he examines a number of longer
words containing the same elements: enac, cletram, etnam,
matam, cntram, flanaχ, cemnac, tenac, tehamai, and by a skilful
use of the combinational method interprets them as compounds
of the stems for 'day' and 'night.' In the course of this, he
identifies in Etruscan the Indo-European demonstrative stems
e- / o- and ko- (6 ff.), to- (66 ff.), the imperative ending -dhi
(32 ff.), and the Etr. adjectival stems hamφ- 'right' and laiv-
'left,' which he equates with the root kamp- 'bend' and Latin
laevos respectively.

He then takes up the Etruscan numerals, 1-6 being known
from the legends on dice and others from ages in epitaphs—
though further identification of meaning rests on combinations
and not on precise evidence. He arrives at this series: 1-10 maχ
θu ci śa huθ zal semφ cesp muv tei; 20 huθizars; 30 cealχls;
40 zaθrum; 60 śealχl; 70 semφalχls; 80 cezpalχls; 90 muvalχls.

Professor GOLDMANN is a very careful worker, and his theories
are always well documented. But one wonders whether he has
not built up an Indo-European mountain on a very slender base.
Chance resemblances do occur, cf. Eng. day and Latin dies, which
are not related. For a sound critical starting-point, one should
read again Skutsch's article on Etruskische Sprache, in Pauly-
Wissowa, Real-Encyc. d. cl. Altertumswiss. VI 770-806. Though
this was published in 1909, and there has been a deal of Etruscan
study since that time, it would be hard to find anything saner
on the subject. Skutsch gives the demonstration of clan
'brother,' sec 'daughter,' puia 'wife,' perhaps θura 'brother,' ati
'mother.' It is almost impossible to believe in the Indo-Euro-
pean character of a language which has these terms for the names
of the commonest family relationships. Other points also are
made by Skutsch, but there is no space to list them here, and
their cogency varies.

As I again go over some of Professor GOLDMANN's arguments,
I find myself wondering if his method is entirely valid. In the
group 7 8 9, he admittedly ranges them in an order which
furthers his Indo-European theory; there is no combinational or

other evidence to confirm it. The same is true of points in his treatment of 2-5; but maχ ' one ' is súre, and is (pace GOLDMANN 104) as un-Indo-European as could be imagined. His explanation of the m in muv- ' nine ' (78 ff.) is weak. The denial of the applicability of phonetic laws to numerals (104), with reference to W. Schulze, K. Z. XXXIII, 394, weakens faith in his results; it is true that analogies play a great rôle in the development of the numerals, but not mere Willkür. The explanation of ci ' 3 ' from * tri- (106) lacks all plausibility.

It would be hardly possible to make a convincing proof of the Indo-European character of Etruscan without interpreting some entire texts and establishing parallel developments of sounds, i. e., phonetic laws. This Professor GOLDMANN has not done in the treatise at hand; he promises to interpret some longer texts in a succeeding volume. I shall look forward with interest to its appearance, though still unconvinced that Etruscan is Indo-European. When we remember the early date of these inscriptions, the strange aspect of their words, the non-Indo-European character of words already identified, it is clear that at best one should look for no closer relation to I. E. than that which exists between I. E. and Hittite: derivation from an older common ancestor. And even this is yet to be proved.

ROLÁND G. KENT.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Stanford University, California,
Jan. 27, 1929.

THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY.

Dear Sir:

I have read with great interest the various communications about brevity as a criterion of language. I confess I am, so far, " thoroughly unconvinced " by Prof. Nykl's argument. From the aesthetic point of view (which, professionally, must be mine), brevity is decidedly a minor element. It may be " the soul of wit ": it is not the soul of eloquence or poetry. We could ill spare Milton's sesquipedalian words; and Shakespeare would not be Shakespeare, if we translated his most impassioned passages into terse American slang. For the lover of literature, there is more ' unspeakable comfort in the blessed word Mesopotamia ' than in ' Iraq.'

From the strictly practical point of view, brevity may be a doubtful advantage. When it comes to strict business, i. e. to

definite contracts, brevity is very properly sacrificed to explicitness. French is considerably less terse than English: usually, when you have English and French versions in parallel columns, the French text is longer by a good 20%. This may be in many cases a distinct point of superiority in favour of French.

When it comes to international use, brevity becomes a curse. Brevity is usually connected with raciness, with the very special idioms of one particular language: it creates a series of difficulties for people who are not thoroughly steeped in the traditions of that language. Our headlines are perhaps the best examples of English brevity; they are usually clear enough to us; in many cases they would be illogical, ambiguous and even unintelligible to a foreigner with a good bookish knowledge of English. This is even truer of the spoken than of the written word. Your brain works more sluggishly when you are using a foreign tongue: a language of excessive brevity sets too rapid a pace. This is one of the reasons why a man with a good scholastic knowledge of Spanish or German understands the spoken languages almost from the first, whilst a man with a corresponding knowledge of English, when he goes over to England for the first time, is usually unable to follow even the simplest conversation.

The use of instruments such as the telephone or the radio accentuates the difficulty of understanding a foreign language: a very brief word may very easily be distorted and become unintelligible. A fuller form would be much safer. There is no doubt in my mind that *remolcador*, for instance, is a much better international term than *tug*. You might mispronounce a couple of letters in *remolcador*, and yet be understood; whereas your *tug* might easily become tag, tack, tog, tuck, thug, dug, dog, etc. if imperfectly pronounced and transmitted over the phone.

A rabid Idist, challenged to translate "Step on the gas," rendered it as follows: "Increase with your foot the quantity of gasoline to be consumed" : in international relations, the second form would be vastly preferable to the first.

ALBERT GUÉRARD.

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ΧΘΑΜΑΛΗ ΙΘΑΚΗ.

Odyssey IX, 21-27:

> ναιετάω δ' Ἰθάκην εὐδείελον· ἐν δ' ὄρος αὐτῇ,
> Νήριτον εἰνοσίφυλλον ἀριπρεπές· ἀμφὶ δὲ νῆσοι
> πολλαὶ ναιετάουσι μάλα σχεδὸν ἀλλήλῃσι,
> Δουλίχιόν τε Σάμη τε καὶ ὑλήεσσα Ζάκυνθος.
> 25 αὐτὴ δὲ χθαμαλὴ πανυπερτάτη εἰν ἁλὶ κεῖται
> πρὸς ζόφον, αἱ δέ τ' ἄνευθε πρὸς ἠῶ τ' ἠέλιόν τε,
> τρηχεῖ', ἀλλ' ἀγαθὴ κουροτρόφος· οὔ τοι ἐγώ γε
> ἧς γαίης δύναμαι γλυκερώτερον ἄλλο ἰδέσθαι.

χθαμαλός is connected with χθών; it means originally "on the ground," hence "rising but little from the ground," "low." The word occurs fairly often in later Greek authors, and everywhere, apparently, it is agreed to mean "low." The presumption is that the meaning in Homer is the same. The poet uses the word five times, and it has usually been thought that it means "low" three times at least. For our passage Strabo (X, 454-55) found a meaning suggested by some commentators, "close to land," and this has been adopted by several modern scholars. Rebert [1] now wishes to employ a similar meaning for four of the five occurrences of the word.

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[1] *C. P.*, XXIII, 1928, pp. 377-387. Brewster has fully discussed the Ithaca question in four articles: *Harvard Studies*, XXXI, 1920, pp. 125-166; XXXIII, 1922, pp. 65-77; XXXVI, 1925, pp. 43-90; *C. P.*, XXII, 1927, pp. 378-390. Shewan supports the classical Ithaca and Daskalio (*C. R.*, XXI, 1920, pp. 195-205; XXIII, 1928, pp. 113-122). Sir Rennell Rodd (*Homer's Ithaca*, 1927) defends the classical Ithaca. Champlin Burrage (*The Ithaca of the Odyssey*, 1928) supports the classical Ithaca, with Arkoudi as Asteris; so it appears from Shewan's review (*C. R.*, XLII, 1928, p. 177); I have not seen the book itself. Fraser

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In Il. XIII, 683 the superlative, χθαμαλώτατον, is used to describe a certain part of the wall protecting the Greek ships at Troy. This has always been understood to mean "lowest" (not, of course, "very low"), and so far as I am aware no difficulty has ever been felt in the word, though the passage in which it is found has its perplexities. Rebert takes the meaning to be "very near the shore," arguing reasonably that this meaning should apply to objects on land at least as well as to those in the sea. But it is difficult to discover how this suggestion aids in the interpretation of the passage; there are no evident grounds for dissatisfaction with the old view; and it would surely be natural to say that the wall at that place was near the ships, rather than near the shore.

In Od. XII, 101 the rock of Charybdis is said to be χθαμαλώ-τερον than that of Skylla. Rebert suggests that this may mean "lower in the picture," but if I understand his argument it is lower in the picture solely because it is itself lower.

Rebert's suggestions in regard to these two passages are new, but in a third he follows Dörpfeld.[2] After arriving at Circe's island Odysseus climbed to a high place to look around, and later told his companions what he saw (Od. X, 194-97):

> εἶδον γὰρ σκοπιὴν ἐς παιπαλόεσσαν ἀνελθὼν
> νῆσον, τὴν πέρι πόντος ἀπείριτος ἐστεφάνωται.
> αὐτὴ δὲ χθαμαλὴ κεῖται· καπνὸν δ' ἐνὶ μέσσῃ
> ἔδρακον ὀφθαλμοῖσι διὰ δρυμὰ πυκνὰ καὶ ὕλην.

In view of the latter part of line 195, most students have thought it obvious that χθαμαλή does not mean "close to shore" in this instance; but Dörpfeld argues that it does, taking πόντος

(C. P., XXIII, 1928, pp. 213-238) would identify Kephallenia as Ithaca. Dörpfeld's great work (*Alt-Ithaka*, 1927) contains at last a complete statement of the Leukas theory. The best critique of this theory is contained in Manly's admirable monograph, *Ithaca or Leucas* (1903). There are more recent developments. Shewan (*C. P.*, XXIV, 1929, pp. 60-67) justly criticizes Fraser's hypothesis. Hennig (*Geographische Zeitschrift*, XXXIV, p. 22) identifies Corfu as Ithaca; I have not seen his article, but several of the arguments for Leukas apply better to Corfu. Griset (*La Patria e il Regno di Odisseo*, 1928) identifies Chios as Ithaca; this work, too, I have not seen; Chios might be a good place to look for the Cave of the Nymphs and such things.

[2] *Alt-Ithaka*, p. 82.

ἀπείριτος to be the ocean stream that was supposed to surround the earth. A full consideration of this hypothesis would take one far afield, but it is not likely to find much acceptance. The evident meaning is that the island is in general low, despite the heights of X, 281, and hence Odysseus had been able to see all of it. Rebert identifies Circe's island with Monte Circeo on the Italian coast and apparently regards ἀπείριτος as a merely conventional epithet.

In all these cases χθαμαλός is apparently "low." The Greeks thought of the shore as a line from which the land rose on one side and the sea on the other. It is therefore reasonable to argue that a term meaning "low" might come to mean "close to shore." But that is not to say that any word meaning "low" could be used without warning to mean "close to shore," and there is absolutely no evidence of such use of χθαμαλός in ancient Greece. It is apparent from Strabo himself that the meaning was not a generally accepted one, but was an expedient in a supposedly desperate case.

χαμηλά is so used in modern Greek, but in the examples cited the word is always applied to ships. A ship close to shore—apparently any shore—is χαμηλά, but no evidence has been presented that an island close to the mainland would be so described. "Close to shore" and "close to the mainland," though sometimes interchangeable, are not synonymous, and χθών does not mean "mainland" as opposed to an island. But even if a modern Greek can use the word as required by Strabo's hypothesis, it does not follow that Homer could: Homeric and classical usage is against it.

But Ithaca "has not an acre of low ground"; how can it be described as low? Its heights, to be sure, are lower than those of the other islands, and some readers have considered the adjective applicable in a comparative sense; but Leaf scornfully asks:[3] "Does their reading of Homer teach them that this is the way in which an epic poet chooses his epithets?"

It is hazardous to criticize Homeric geography without a careful consideration, based on autopsy, of the aspects in which lands and islands may have been seen by the eye of the poet. As I looked at Ithaca from the deck of a ship which approached

[3] *Homer and History*, p. 148.

the island as Homer's ship may have approached it, χθαμαλή
seemed a most natural descriptive term.

Ships en route between Corfu and Patras or Piraeus usually
pass Ithaca in the night, and apparently most of the scholars
who have visited the island have arrived in darkness. On my
trip, however, the boat left Patras at half past seven in the
morning and reached Ithaca shortly after noon. The day was
somewhat misty, but the sun was bright, and I had a good
opportunity to view Ithaca as we approached. Emerging from
the Gulf of Patras, the steamer swung north and for an hour or
an hour and a half the clustering Echinades were close on our

right. On the left the view was very different: there was a
wide expanse of open sea, beyond which loomed the great mass
of Kephallenia. Finally the ship crossed to Ithaca, passing
not very far south of Atokos.

Therefore, when it became possible to distinguish Ithaca from
Kephallenia, the whole length of the smaller island was in clear
view as shown in the drawing.[4] In proportion to this visible
length, the visible height is very little. The mountains of Ithaca
do in fact reach a considerable altitude, but the figure presented
by the whole island, as seen from the east, is distinctly, con-
spicuously, and preeminently low. This form is the more im-
pressed on the observer by the towering bulk of Kephallenia,

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[4] The drawing is made from my photograph, which is too faint for
reproduction.

which is the background from which the outline of Ithaca gradually separates itself as the boat approaches. An analogous design is presented by a long line of telegraph poles along the base of a hill. The individual poles would not be reckoned low; but a line of them, with the wires at the top, makes a geometrical figure of very slight proportional height, and the hill in the background causes it to appear still lower. And the lowly outline of Ithaca is still further emphasized by the heights of Leukas and Akarnania, which are visible at the same time. In whatever direction the observer looks, he sees mountains that are both actually and apparently much higher than those of Ithaca. If the poet chose his epithets from the qualities " which strike the eye vividly and give the object a peculiar character," [5] he could have found none more appropriate to Ithaca than χθαμαλή, if he had in mind the view from the east.

Brewster thinks that χθαμαλή means "low on the horizon" and that the whole passage describes the view from a vessel rounding Cape Trepito, on the west coast of the Peloponnesus. Anything on the horizon is low in a sense, but this interpretation robs the word of all descriptive value, so far as Ithaca is concerned. From Cape Trepito Ithaca would be visible only as a small bit on a broad horizon; it is hardly such a view as the homesick Odysseus would affectionately recall.

Let us consider the remainder of the passage. εὐδείελον is translated " schön-abendlich " by Dörpfeld; if this is right it will apply to one place as well as to another. Butcher and Lang translate it "clear-seen." In Od. XIII, 234 we find it as an adjective applying to islands in general, " probably from the distinctness with which they are seen standing out of the sea," as Liddell and Scott say; and they add, " a description very applicable to Ithaca." It is particularly applicable to the eastern view, in which the whole outline of the island is clearly defined. Why is only one mountain mentioned, when there are two? Because only one, as seen from the east, rises to a distinct peak; this is the southern mountain, commonly agreed to be Neriton. The height in the north is actually taller, but there is no pointed and conspicuous (ἀριπρεπές) summit. The southern peak is a feature of the sky-line which would easily be remembered.

[5] Brewster (1920), p. 155, after Bérard and Helbig.

Lines 22-24: Three islands are not many islands, especially in the seas that Homer knew. Furthermore, Doulichion, Same, and Zakynthos do not lie very close to one another, forming a group from which Ithaca is isolated; this holds true for any possible distribution of the names among Thiaki, Leukas, Kephallenia, and Zante. Without regard to the correct interpretation of the passage, line 24 is conspicuously superfluous. Dörpfeld agrees that the line may be spurious,[6] but thinks that perhaps the poet means to mention three *among* the many. Why did he not say so? As the passage stands, line 24 is in apposition with νῆσοι. It is a stereotyped line which occurs frequently in the Odyssey, since these islands were near Ithaca and were the homes of the suitors, and such stock lines are especially likely to appear where they do not belong. Apparently the verse is inserted here erroneously, either by some rhapsode or by Homer himself. In the latter case we must assume, with Brewster,[7] that he was using some source that he did not fully understand. Accustomed to think of Doulichion, Same, and Zakynthos as *the* islands near Ithaca, he added the conventional line as an expansion of νῆσοι. The error would not be an important one from his standpoint, because the interest of both speaker and listener at this point is centered in Ithaca. The disharmony with πολλαί is striking, however, and I should charge it to a minstrel rather than to the poet.

With this line omitted, the description is perfectly clear. The many islands are the Echinades, which are indeed close together at the east, while Ithaca lies " very far out in the sea " at the west. If πανυπερτάτη seems a strong word for the distance, consider the contrast with the crowded Echinades, along which the traveler moves for a considerable time; and also the fact that Ithaca is the boundary of the visible sea for a large part of the western horizon. In describing the approach to Ithaca one would naturally use some such language as this: " First you pass a number of little islands, close together at the east; then you see Ithaca clearly outlined, a long, low island away out in the sea to the west." From such a description as this, or perhaps from a memory of his own journey, the poet wrote his lines. He does not mention the size of the other islands or

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[6] *Alt-Ithaka*, p. 78.   [7] 1920, pp. 158 f.

the length of Ithaca (unless this is implied in χθαμαλή), but every detail that he does put in is not only intelligible, but ideally natural and appropriate, as applied to Ithaca approached from the east.

In his discussion of the passage, Dörpfeld occupies himself with two phrases,[8] χθαμαλὴ εἰν ἁλὶ κεῖται and πανυπερτάτη πρὸς ζόφον. The words are Homer's, but the phrases are Dörpfeld's. χθαμαλή is separated from εἰν ἁλὶ κεῖται by the order and by the rhythm, if the line is to have any caesura; πανυπερτάτη is connected with εἰν ἁλὶ by the same considerations. ἄνευθε he takes to mean not " apart from Ithaca," but " apart from the mainland." This interpretation would hardly have occurred to any one if there had not been the question about χθαμαλή. Finally Dörpfeld goes to considerable trouble to prove, against some of Strabo's sources and also against some of his own followers, that πρὸς ζόφον means " to the west " and not " to the north "; but he repeats Partsch's assertion that there has frequently been confusion about directions in the Ionian islands, north being taken for west and east for north. This confusion is well attested, and one might with some reason ascribe a similar error to Homer if his description were unintelligible otherwise. But we certainly are not justified in thinking that Homer meant north simply because he says west.

The fundamental thesis of Brewster's articles is that the usual way of reaching the home of Odysseus, on Polis Bay in Thiaki, was by a route that led past the Echinades and around the north end of Ithaca. Thus Arkoudi is Asteris, as proposed by Dörpfeld, Leukas is Same, and Kephallenia is Doulichion. It is evident that this hypothesis is not weakened, but supported, by my interpretation of IX, 21-28, since ships passing through the channel between Thiaki and Kephallenia, whatever their route before or after, would never gain the view of Ithaca that is shown in the drawing. Additional support for Brewster's theory may be drawn from the directions given by Athena to Telemachos, just before he leaves Pylos.

Odyssey XV. 28-38:

μνηστήρων σ᾽ ἐπιτηδὲς ἀριστῆες λοχόωσιν
ἐν πορθμῷ Ἰθάκης τε Σάμοιό τε παιπαλοέσσης,

[8] Alt-Ithaka, pp. 78-83.

30   ἱέμενοι κτεῖναι, πρὶν πατρίδα γαῖαν ἱκέσθαι.
     ἀλλὰ τά γ' οὐκ ὀίω· πρὶν καί τινα γαῖα καθέξει
     ἀνδρῶν μνηστήρων, οἵ τοι βίοτον κατέδουσιν.
     ἀλλὰ ἑκὰς νήσων ἀπέχειν εὐεργέα νῆα,
     νυκτὶ δ' ὁμῶς πλείειν· πέμψει δέ τοι οὖρον ὄπισθεν
35   ἀθανάτων ὅς τίς σε φυλάσσει τε ῥύεταί τε.
     αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν πρώτην ἀκτὴν Ἰθάκης ἀφίκηαι,
     νῆα μὲν ἐς πόλιν ὀτρῦναι καὶ πάντας ἑταίρους,
     αὐτὸς δὲ πρώτιστα συβώτην εἰσαφικέσθαι . . .

Brewster thinks that the islands of line 33 must be those
mentioned in line 29;[9] perhaps others as well, but surely those
two. Yet Telemachos is to land on Ithaca, and "you cannot
keep away from an island and at the same time land on its
nearest point. It is a physical impossibility." Athena's advice
is therefore nonsense; in lines 33-34 she is simply indicating
the usual course for mariners following the trade-route north,
and that in spite of the fact that the context imperatively de-
mands some deviation from the ordinary procedure. Homer
has used an extract from his coast-pilot without regard to the
exigencies of his own narrative.

Dörpfeld wishes to strike out Athena's directions altogether.[10]
If they be retained, he explains ἑκὰς νήσων as far from Kephal-
lenia, Thiaki and Arkoudi; yet he makes Telemachos go closer
to Kephallenia and Thiaki on his return than on his journey
south.

To one who looks for "the islands" on the map, it doubtless
seems obvious that the four large islands, or some of them,
must be meant; so also to one who thinks of them as inhabited
territories. But I am convinced from my own journey that to
one contemplating a voyage along the coast of Acarnania,
"islands" could mean nothing else than the numerous islets
that fringe that coast. A half-dozen in sight at one time, they
impress themselves on the traveler's mind and memory, while
the larger land-masses are vague in the distance and their in-
sular nature does not strike the eye. Furthermore, if Athena's
advice has any value, Telemachos is told to avoid the islands
that he would not avoid without the advice; and these islets—
the Echinades and Arkoudi and perhaps Atokos—would ordi-

[9] 1925, pp. 59-61.   [10] *Alt-Ithaka*, pp. 93 f.

narily be passed, according to Brewster (and Dörpfeld) by Tele-
machos on his way north. If he should follow this usual route,
the suitors would catch him at Arkoudi as they planned. Hence
Athena's counsel: "Don't take the route by the islands, but
land on the nearest point of Ithaca."

The course actually taken is briefly described in XV, 295-300.
After passing along the Elean coast he steered toward the νῆσοι
θοαί. These islands are usually taken to be the Echinades, but
Dörpfeld [11] thinks that they are the Montague Rocks. At
present the Rocks are entirely submerged, but Strabo writes of
an islet and rocks, apparently in about their position. It is
evident that this interpretation would be very desirable for
our theory, since in accordance with it Telemachos does not
approach at all the islands that would ordinarily be passed, but
turns away at the first opportunity toward Kephallenia and the
classical Ithaca. According to Dörpfeld, he continues along
the east coast of the last-named island to the southern end of
Leukas. Here there is a difficulty. The suitors lay in wait at
Arkoudi, but Athena in her warning says merely that they are
in the πορθμός between Ithaca and Same. It is all the same,
according to Brewster's conception of the journey. But Dörp-
feld makes Telemachos go exactly where, according to his in-
formation, the suitors are waiting for him: across the πορθμός
at its narrowest place, the place where it is most definitely a
πορθμός. If Athena had said that the suitors were in ambush
on the east side of Asteris, then Telemachos might reasonably
have hoped to escape by going on the west side; and that would
have been ἑκὰς νήσων, as this phrase has been interpreted above;
but what Athena does say is valueless to Telemachos if he was
going to Leukas.

For us νῆσοι θοαί in the position of the Montague Rocks would
be most satisfactory, but it must be confessed that the existence
of any islands at that place is not proved. If the isles are the
Echinades, Telemachos followed the usual route at the begin-
ning, because it was the usual route, and perhaps because Homer
did not know what might be in the way of a more direct sailing.
We are not told what Telemachos did next, but since we find
him later at the south end of Ithaca, it is clear that he cut

[11] P. 35.

straight across from the south end of the Echinades. He avoided
the island route and all the islands that were anywhere near the
ambush; for still greater safety he traveled at night to escape
any wandering scouts. ' He followed Athena's advice and thereby
saved his life.

After Telemachos is safely landed his companions take the
ship to the town. No incidents of their journey are recorded,
but they arrive and are soon followed by the wooers who had
lain in ambush at Asteris. Amphinomos remarks (XVI, 356 f.)
that the suitors had been told by some god of the arrival of
Telemachos' ship or had seen it pass and been unable to over-
take it. We naturally prefer the second alternative, but the
failure is difficult to understand if Asteris is Daskalio. On the
other hand, if Asteris is Arkoudi and the usual route is correctly
given by Brewster, the suitors would be watching for a boat
going west in the neighborhood of Atokos. One creeping up the
east coast of Ithaca might reasonably escape their attention
until it should be too late to capture it.

Dörpfeld's confidence in his conclusions is sometimes so great
that it may mislead the reader as to the facts. He states re-
peatedly that Telemachos passed by Asteris and the suitors in
the night. Of course there is not a word in the Odyssey that
hints at any such thing, and it is extremely improbable that
that incident, which would be the dramatic climax of the journey,
would be passed over in silence. If Athena made the ship in-
visible or lulled the suitors to sleep, surely the fact would be
mentioned; Homer does not so ignore the acts of his divinities.
If Telemachos landed at the south end of Ithaca before ap-
proaching the suitors, the fortunes of the ship thereafter are
of secondary interest and would naturally be handled sketchily,
since the adventure was essentially complete when Telemachos
left the boat. But if Telemachos himself sailed by Asteris in
the night, then the whole story of the ambush is futile and
absurd.

It is fair to say that Brewster's hypothesis permits a much
more satisfactory explanation of the return from Pylos than has
been given previously. Are the difficulties in the way of the
hypothesis sufficiently serious to outweigh this advantage? Mr.
Brewster has discussed the matter at length, and there is no need
to repeat his arguments, but certain considerations may be
mentioned.

There is one definite objection in II, 420-21, where Athena sends the wind Zephyros to speed Telemachos on his way from Ithaca to Pylos. Zephyros is as usual the northwest wind, while according to Brewster Telemachos must go northwest— in the teeth of the wind—until he should round the north end of Ithaca. The answer to this is that the passage around the end of the island is so small a part of the journey that it needs no special mention; the men sat at the oars at first (II, 419) and there is nothing to show just how long they rowed.

The more important objection is that the route by Arkoudi is longer than that between Ithaca and Kephallenia. Brewster has produced a warning from the unbiassed *Mediterranean Pilot*[12] to the effect that this channel should be avoided by sailing vessels, except when the wind is favorable, because of dangerous squalls and lack of anchorage in time of calm. He has adduced from Bérard[13] the fact that the Venetian mariners avoided the channel because of tempests, pirates, and poor harbors. Possibly it may be suggested also that moderate winds, which would be useful in the sea east of Ithaca, might fail altogether to reach a boat in the narrow and confined channel. Apparently it would be well worth while to row the short distance from Polis Bay to the north end of Ithaca in order to escape these disadvantages. Brewster finds in the *Mediterranean Pilot*,[14] again, evidence that the prevailing winds are not favorable to a sailing from Oxia (the Echinades) to the south end of Ithaca, while they are favorable to a sailing north or northwest. Now it is reasonable to suppose that a good proportion of the ships that visited Ithaca came from the Gulf of Corinth, and would necessarily pass the Echinades. Furthermore the north coast of this gulf has filled in a good deal since early times, and it appears that a ship following the old coast-line (as seen in the map, Dörpfeld's plate 1) would find the northern route to Polis Bay much more convenient and very nearly as short as the southern.

As for pirates, one can not wonder that the Venetians feared them, for the channel is a pirates' trap if ever there was one. In the sea to the east, and even between Ithaca and Leukas, there is room for the exercise of skill in seamanship; but a

[12] 1920, p. 136.   [13] L. c.   [14] 1922, pp. 67 f.

merchantman attacked in the channel could do nothing but fight. This consideration would apply with particular force to traders from foreign lands, Venetians or Phoenicians, who would not wish to trust unnecessarily to the friendship of these alien islanders. Bérard originated the idea that the geographical data used in the Odyssey were derived in part from Phoenician sources, and the theory is found acceptable by many. We have every reason to believe that the Phoenicians would *not* use Ithaca channel for their trade-route. In Telemachos's own journey, the route by the channel would be shorter, and Athena presumably could protect him from squalls and calm; but we can only expect Homer to know the usual route. The considerations that have been mentioned make it unsafe to assume that the usual route was the shorter one.

Most of the recent writers on the Ithaca question have thought that the four names in Homer belong, in some distribution, to Leukas, Thiaki, Kephallenia, and Zante. One who rejects this opinion must believe that seismic action has made away with Doulichion and perhaps Asteris, or that Homer was guilty of major errors in geography, such as supposing Doulichion an island when it was really Akarnania, or that Corfu was one of the islands. There is something to be said for all of these theories, but none of them has or is likely to receive general approbation. On the assumption that the four names do belong to the four islands in question, Brewster's allocation of them appears to have great advantages.

He shares with Dörpfeld the advantage of using Arkoudi as Asteris, and that is the only solid support that the Leukas theory has ever had. I have already taken up Dörpfeld's interpretations of two vital passages; since at last we have in his book *Alt-Ithaka* a complete and authoritative statement of his views, it will not be out of place to consider certain other points in his argument, though the question has been discussed so often.

In XXI, 346-47 there is an expression "Neither those who are lords in rugged Ithaca, nor those who dwell in the islands toward Elis." Hence it is argued that the other islands are closer than Ithaca to Elis, and so Ithaca must be Leukas. It may very well be, however, that the second phrase includes the first: as if we should say "Neither in Manhattan, nor in the state of New York." The "islands toward Elis" are the Ionian

Islands, so distinguished from the Aegean archipelago. There
is a significant reference to Elis in IV, 632-38, where it appears
that the Ithacan Noemon kept a herd of horses and mules there.
This is strong evidence that Ithaca was not much more easily
accessible from any other part of the mainland than from Elis;
while Leukas, as Dörpfeld has emphasized in other connections,
could be reached from the neighboring mainland very easily
indeed. Since Noemon kept his herd so far from home, it
cannot be argued that the herds of Odysseus on the mainland
(XIV, 100-104) would be too far from the town in the classical
Ithaca. It is clearly the herds on the island, not those on the
mainland, from which animals went to the suitors daily (XIV,
105-108). We are told that Philoitios did on one occasion
bring animals that came from the mainland (XX, 185-88), but
it is not implied that this was a daily occurrence. In this in-
stance the animals were brought by πορθμῆες, and it is argued
that these "ferrymen" imply a narrow channel. Homer does
not use the word elsewhere, but the earliest post-Homeric πορθμῆες
(Herodotos, I, 24) were "ferrying" Arion from Tarentum to
Corinth. The small number of animals and the kind of animals
kept on the island strongly suggest that it was a small and
rocky island, and this is true of the classical Ithaca; while
Leukas is fairly large as Greek islands go, and although rugged
in part contains a considerable amount of good pasture land.
Similar evidence on the physical character of Homer's Ithaca
is found in the proportionately small number of suitors who
dwelt in it (XVI, 245-251) and in the extremely modest lan-
guage of Odysseus and Athena when they are praising the island
(IX, 27-28, cf. 34-36; XIII, 242-47). It is exceedingly sur-
prising, therefore, that objection has been raised against the
classical Ithaca for this very reason—that it is too small and
poor. The only possible justification for this argument is XIII,
244 f.: "A terrible amount of grain is produced in it." Many
a little lake has been said by loyal fishermen to have a terrible
lot of fish in it, without implying a comparison with the Great
Lakes.

Three times in the Odyssey (I, 173; XIV, 190; XVI, 224)
a man who has just reached Ithaca is asked what sailors brought
him, and the enquirer adds "For I do not at all suppose that
you arrived on foot" (πεζός). The line occurs a fourth time,

with the difference that the newcomer' is not addressed, but spoken of (XVI, 59). Professor Scott has examined the various passages in which πεζός occurs [15] and concludes that the word has a "vague meaning, a meaning closely akin to 'unassisted' or 'unaccompanied by others.'" This is apparently right, for some cases, but is unimportant for our problem; how can one reach an island unassisted? The questioners hardly had swimming in mind, and it appears from Od. III, 324 that πεζός could not be used to denote a traveler using his own boat as opposed to a passenger on a vessel. Nobody could go to the classical Ithaca on foot, by land, or without assistance, while it is very possible that one could reach Leukas in a way to which any translation of the word would apply. In his desire to establish Leukas as a full-blood island, Dörpfeld now interprets the phrase as follows: [16] I do not suppose that you came through the mainland (and took the ferry). This appears to weaken the argument materially. On the assumption that the lagoon at Leukas could be waded, the phrase in question may serve as basis for a sound argument for Leukas, but not for a weighty one. The line is apparently stereotyped, a formula of inquiry that was originally somewhat humorous in tone. We are told that at present the inhabitants of the island Capri use an exactly equivalent expression in questioning strangers.[17]

In the course of his investigations in Leukas Dörpfeld has established the fact that hogs used to be pastured in the southern part of the island. This is shown by numerous place-names. The swineherd Eumaios lived in the southern part of Ithaca, so the correspondence is fairly claimed; but good places for the feeding of hogs have been found also in the southern part of the classical Ithaca. The inlet that Dörpfeld identifies as Phorkys Harbor is now named Syvota Bay. The name has the accent on the first syllable, according to Partsch; (apparently the pronunciation is not indicated in *Alt-Ithaka*;) so it is not the Doric genitive of συβώτης. Thucydides mentions a place in Thesprotia named Σύβοτα.[18] The word means hog-pastures. "Syvota Bay" doubtless has the same origin: there were σύβοτα in southern Leukas, and the bay took its name from them.

At Phorkys Harbor was an extraordinary cavern, the Cave

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[15] *C. J.*, XXIII, 1927-28, pp. 703 f.   [17] Rodd, *Homer's Ithaca*, p. 58.
[16] *Alt-Ithaka*, pp. 83 f.   [18] I, 47, 50, 52.

of the Nymphs, which Homer describes at length (XIII, 102-
12). The Bay of Vathy, in the classical Ithaca, has no cave
at all, while there are five on the shore of Syvota Bay. This
is claimed as a point for Leukas; but it is acknowledged [19]
that none of these caves has running water, or two entrances,
and none of them is at the head of the harbor, where Homer
clearly places the Cave of the Nymphs. If we are to ascribe all
these details to the invention of the poet, we may as well assume
that he invented the cave itself.

Homer mentions a fountain at Ithaca named Melanydros
(black-water). There is a fountain in Leukas named Mavroneri,
which means "black-water" in modern Greek. An interesting
coincidence, but Dörpfeld has now decided that Mavroneri is
not in the right place for Melanydros.[20] In regard to the $\kappa\rho\dot{\eta}\nu\eta$
$\tau\nu\kappa\tau\dot{\eta}$ he won a triumph: he inferred from Homer's description
(XVII, 204-11) that there was an underground aqueduct lead-
ing to the fountain, and then found such an aqueduct in Leukas,
where few expected it. But Homer's description remains as
it was, and really does not seem to imply an aqueduct.

The adherents of the classical Ithaca admit that the distances,
in that island, between the sites assumed for the dwelling of
Eumaios and the town of Ithaca are too great to be traversed
as quickly as the story of the Odyssey requires. They think
that the poet, not too well acquainted with the island, would
not naturally know nor be interested in its interior distances.
But Dörpfeld found in Leukas a plain that was just the right
distance from his place for Eumaios, and there he excavated
for the palace of Odysseus and the town of Ithaca. He found
nothing identifiable as either, but he did find some very inter-
esting things.

He found two "family-tombs" and a number of "royal
tombs," besides several isolated burials. They contained a con-
siderable amount of pottery, as well as other objects. The
family-tomb F contains pottery of unmistakable Minyan forms,[21]
though apparently of poor fabric. Among the other discoveries
is a spearhead of remarkable form, which appears in only two
other known examples: one was found in the fourth shaft grave

[19] *Alt-Ithaka*, pp. 112 f.
   P. 127.   [21] Pp. 316-18, Blg. 72-73

at Mycenae, the other in a grave at Sesklo. It is highly probable
that all the specimens of so rare a form belong to about the
same time. The shaft graves are agreed to date from the
neighborhood of 1600, and the fourth grave is not the latest
of them. Thessalian chronology is still somewhat vague, but
nobody would object to a date around 1600 for the grave con-
taining the spearhead. Minyan pottery is the characteristic ware
of the Middle Helladic period (1900-1600). Gössler, the author
of this section of *Alt-Ithaka*, therefore writes: " Die relative
Zeitstellung des Grabes kann keinem Zweifel unterliegen. Es
ist das Ende der Mittelhelladischen Zeit." But he adds that
it is uncertain how long Minyan ware lasted.

The other family-tomb (S) produced similar pottery, and
Gössler writes of it:[22] " Im ganzen is das Grab etwas älter
bezw. altertümlicher als das folgende Grab F."

There remain the thirty-three " Homerische Königsgräber."
These graves produced " Early Helladic pottery of characteristic
types." [23] Gössler recognizes the fact well enough,[24] though he
advises great caution in drawing conclusions from it. He even
says: " Ja es scheint uns sogar ein völkischer Unterschied vor-
zuliegen: in Tiryns und Korinth sind die Leute des Urfirnis
Vorgriechen; auf Leukas dagegen handelt es sich bei der dem
Urfirnis verwandten Keramik um Achäer." That is to say,
Early Helladic pottery in Leukas is not only 600 years and more
later than Early Helladic pottery elsewhere, but is made by a
different race! The royal tombs contained also a good deal of
gold jewelry, for which Gössler constantly cites parallels from
the second city at Troy, which Dörpfeld himself dates 2400-
1900. Somewhat similar forms are found in the shaft graves
at Mycenae, but those found at Leukas are in general simpler.
" Jedoch steht nichts im Wege, das Goldvorkommen auf Leukas
ebenso wie die achäische Tonware bis gegen die Zeit der dorischen
Wanderung hinabreichen zu lassen." [25]

It appears that the stratified deposit in the plain contained,
through its entire depth, pottery like that of the tombs and
no other pottery; although small amounts of Mycenean ware,

[22] P. 314.

[23] So Blegen, in *A. J. A.*, XXXII, 1928, p. 150. The pottery illus-
trated: *Alt-Ithaka*, Blg. 64-65.

[24] P. 308.   [25] *Op. cit.*, p. 290.

and other preclassical pottery that might be later than the
pottery in the tombs, were found on higher land near the plain
and in other parts of Leukas.[26]

Of course it can not be asserted that the development of and
changes in pottery proceeded in exactly the same manner in all
parts of Greece, or that a settlement belonging to the third Late
Helladic period must necessarily contain Mycenean pottery. We
have Thermon and Olympia to prove the contrary. So at Leukas,
if we should find pottery of unknown relations, we might assume
that it belonged to the period ordinarily marked by Mycenean
ware. But that is not the condition that exists: the pottery
of Leukas has a quite definite place in the chronological scheme
constructed by students of the prehistoric period. That Minyan
types as seen in tomb F should persist unchanged till the end
of the Late Helladic period is improbable in the extreme, and
the spearhead is likewise strong evidence of an early date. Yet
the F-tomb is the latest of the pre-classical burials. That the
" Homeric royal tombs," with their Early Helladic pottery,
should belong to the end of the Mycenean age can be termed
improbable only by courtesy; it is really impossible. It appears,
then, that the plain was not inhabited at all in the latter part
of the late Helladic period.

This conclusion is confirmed by the stratification in the plain.
Dörpfeld gives a very clear account of it.[27] A layer containing
Roman and a few Byzantine potsherds was found in some places
on the surface, in other places a metre or less below it. Then
there is a Greek layer, in some places immediately below the
Roman one and elsewhere separated from it by a barren stratum
whose depth is not stated; presumably it is small. The third
layer is that which Dörpfeld calls Achaean. It is separated
from the Greek layer almost everywhere (fast überall) by a
barren stratum from one to three metres thick. The sterile
layer in each case consists of sand and gravel deposited by the
brooks in time of heavy rain. In periods when the plain was
cared for, the brooks were confined by dikes and their deposits
were small; at other periods there was no such control and the
gravel was abundant, though doubtless some of it, after having
been left on the plain by one rain, was carried on to the sea
by another.

[26] Op. cit., pp. 279-281.   [27] Op. cit., pp. 188 f.

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The streams are uncontrolled at present and have been, as Dörpfeld's evidence indicates, since early Byzantine times:—some 1400 years, presumably, but we may conservatively say 1000. Yet the Roman-Byzantine stratum has nowhere been covered to a depth of more than a metre, according to Dörpfeld's statement, and in some places has not been covered at all (or if covered has been uncovered again). This indicates that the rate of deposit is after all, in net result for the whole plain, not particularly rapid. Yet the "Achaean" is separated from the "Dorian," or classical Greek, stratum, almost everywhere, by a sterile layer whose minimum depth is one metre and which in some places reaches a depth of three metres. The maximum deposit, for at least a thousand years, is the minimum deposit for the interval between the "Achaeans" and the "Dorians," and the maximum depth of this earlier deposit is three times the maximum for the later one. If this appear to prove too much, we may consider that, if the streams were diked during a long "Achaean" period, their beds would gradually rise above the level of the surrounding ground, and so their floods would be more destructive; and that as the level of the plain rose the process of deposit might be slower. It is to be noted also that the period of abandonment includes some four centuries after the Dorian invasion, since the earliest discoveries of the classical period in the plain belong, it would appear, to the eighth century.[28] But taking everything into account, it is clearly indicated that the plain was neglected and uninhabited for centuries before the beginning of the "Dorian" or Greek period; that at the traditional date of the Trojan War, and long before, it was a waste.

Of course neither these results nor any possible results have any value in the eyes of those who totally disbelieve in the historicity of the Odyssey. But to students who believe that there was a town and a palace in Homer's Ithaca in the neighborhood of 1200 B. C., these excavations furnish the strongest evidence *against* the plain of Nidri as the Homeric site.

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[28] Pottery of "Protocorinthian" relations: *Alt-Ithaka*, pp. 320 f., Blg. 76.

THREE OBSCURE PASSAGES IN CICERO'S LETTERS.

1) AD ATTICUM II. 1. 5.

After Clodius was acquitted on the charge of sacrilege Cicero attacked him in the senate in a speech which was later published under the title *In Clodium et Curionem*. Some of the spicy phrases of that speech Cicero reported to Atticus at once (Att. II. 1) and among these is a very difficult sentence which Sjögren gives thus:

Fregi hominem et inconstantiam ejus reprehendi, qui Romae tribunatum pl. peteret, cum in Sicilia hereditatem saepe dictitasset. The ms-readings, which are very confused, are given fully by Sjögren (Ad Att. I-IV, 1916), who follows none and restores freely from several. Bosius, who found heraedilitatem saepehereditasset in Z, emended plausibly with the aid of G to Herae aedilitatem se petere dictitasset.[1] This emendation Boot, Tyrrell and Purser and others adopt, while admitting that the meaning is still obscure. Sjögren's reading obviously does not contain the kind of sarcasm that one expects from the very bitter tirade that Cicero frankly admits that he delivered. Since an aedilis is a Roman magistrate of the rank of tribune, a contrast between the two magistracies is evident; hence aedilitatem is plausible. And since aedilis may also mean templekeeper, *Herae aedilitatem* would seem to contain a word-play. Now this letter has the first reference to the rumors to which Cicero again refers when he calls Clodia *Juno* or βοῶπις (cf. ad Att. II, 9; 12; 14; 22; 23). It is probable, therefore, that Clodia is the " Hera " here referred to. I think the passage may be translated thus: " I criticized his inconsistency in that at Rome he is seeking the tribunate, whereas, while recently in Sicily, he said repeatedly that he intended to become Hera's warden." In II. 4. 2, Cicero calls Clodius iste sacerdos Bonae Deae with a similar allusion to his intrigue with Caesar's wife at the festival of Bona Dea.

[1] Those who retain *Herae* have generally taken it as the locative of Hera = Hybla, in Sicily. However, Cluver has shown that the name ought to be Heraia.

2) Ad Att. VII. 7. 6.

When Cicero returned from Cilicia in 50 B. C. he found the senate on the point of breaking with Caesar. Cicero had always held that Caesar's acts were unconstitutional, but fearing a civil war he was willing, as he says in Ad Att. VII, 7. 6, to overlook technical points for the sake of preserving peace. I should print this passage without any of the usual emendations, but with a new punctuation, as follows:

Quid ergo? exercitum retinentis cum legis dies transierit rationem haberi placet? Mihi vero ne absentis quidem; sed cum id datum est, illud una datum est, annorum enim decem imperium, et ita latum. Placet igitur etiam me expulsum et agrum Campanum perisse et adoptatum patricium a plebeio, Gaditanum a Mytilenaeo, et Labieni divitiae et Mamurrae placent et Balbi horti et Tusculanum? Sed horum omnium fons unus est: imbecillo resistendum fuit et id erat facile.

It is usual to place a full stop after una datum est, insert *placet* with a question mark after *latum* and a full stop after Tusculanum. In the whole passage Cicero insists on the validity of the law of the ten tribunes granting Caesar's right to stand for the consulship in absentia (cf. habenda e lege ratio, at the end of the paragraph). I should translate as follows: Well then, do I approve of the candidacy of a man who keeps his army beyond the legal term? No, not even of his candidacy in absence; but when the latter privilege was granted (by the law of the 10 tribunes), the other went with it, for the imperium is one of ten years, and the privilege was granted with that understanding. (That is, the 10 year term brings the command up to March 49, hence the privilege of standing in absentia implies that Caesar may hold his army after March 49 up to election time, i. e. after his term is over). The next sentence is then a supposed retort by Atticus which Cicero answers by *sed* etc. Tyrrell and Purser rightly say that " this mention of ten years seems to settle the question definitely as to the date on which Caesar's command would expire." It does do so if one comprehends the actual logical force of the *enim* and *ita* in the second sentence.

3) AD FAM. VIII. 9. 1.

† curionem prorsus curionem non mediocriter obiurgatus ac † repulsa se mutavit, is the desperate text printed by Sjögren, who also provides in the apparatus a list of unsatisfactory emendations. Objurgatus is the reading of M. whereas G gives objurgat. Tyrrell and Purser, advancing on Riemann and others, give a fairly understandable text by striking out the second *curionem,* reading *objurgat* with G and emending *ac* to *hac.* However this drastic procedure seems to destroy the point of the sentence. Caelius is here discussing the behavior of Hirrus after his defeat at the polls. In Raccolta di Scritti in onore di Felice Ramorino, p. 158, I have gathered several passages in which Caelius and Cicero joke about the pronunciation of Hirrus, who had some defect of speech. Since Hirrus is supposed to have pronounced his own name *Illus* (Fam. II 9 and 10, VIII 4, 3 and 9, 1) we may assume that he not only dropped *h* but softened *r* to *l.* In this letter, if we assume that Caelius is giving Cicero a parody of the speech of Hirrus, we may restore the passage as follows: Curionem, prorsus Culionem, non mediocriter obiurgat. Ac (Hirrian pronunciation for Hac) repulsa se mutavit. That is, Hirrus, who is now playing the rôle of a conservative, " is roundly rebuking Curio (or rather, ' Culio '). Because of this defeat at the polls he has made a complete volte-face." To appreciate the quality of Caelius' wit it may be necessary to refer to the Thesaurus L. L. for the word *culio.* For the corrective or explicative use of prorsus see Rolfe, Tr. Am. Phil. Ass. 1920, 30 ff. He gives no instance exactly like this, where prorsus virtually means " to quote precisely ", but the instances where it means " precisely," " in fact," " to be explicit " are of course numerous.

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THE STRUCTURE OF VERGIL'S GEORGICS.[1]

It goes without saying that, however else we may regard the *Georgics*, we cannot class the poem strictly with the didactic verse of, say, Nicander or Aratus. Historically it was thanks to Lucretius rather than to the Greeks that Virgil could divine the possibilities of a didactic style enlarged and expanded to transcend the metrical treatises of Alexandria. Lucretius knew better than to continue naively the old method, natural to a second generation of didactics, of inserting episodes with a view to relieve the tedium of technical exposition. In him descriptive passages, not obviously called for by the need to illustrate an argument, yet generally grow in a way naturally out of the subject in hand or at least are an amplification of some thought in the argument. Indeed one might perhaps hold that in over-emphasis rather than in irrelevance lies the fault of which Lucretius is occasionally guilty on this score.

With a more finished technique Virgil ornaments the *Georgics* with what are sometimes apt to be called digressions. But, I think, in him the didactic purpose has been definitely submerged in a greater purpose; while in Lucretius it does still maintain a foremost place, in spite of the fact that the exposition of scientific

[1] With the above patiently finding its press, Kurt Witte's elaborate study of the *Georgics'* structure appeared (Geschichte der römischen Dichtung im Zeitalter des Augustus, I, ii, Erlangen, 1927). His account conflicts sharply with mine. Rejecting the conventional paragraphing, he divides into ' Teile,' which may be or may not be my divisions, Book-Halves, Books, Double-Books (I-II and III-IV). Certain laws control the number of the Teile in each Book-Half and Book, their size, and their position. There results a rigid schematism: which, however, cannot in itself relate together the varied elements of the material built into different Books.

Witte unites I and II, and III and IV. III and IV are counterpart, as a unit, to I-II. Singly, III is counterpart to I—or, rather, " eine Art Gegenstück "; IV is counterpart to III (not to II; though IV is closely related to II through IV Tarentine Garden). The two halves of III are counterparts. Between II and III are many bonds of unity (not paragraphically); not so many between I and IV.

To support such conclusions, Witte gives a vast number of correspondences, of varying value. Here, again, we differ; and for good

theory has its supremacy in the *De Rerum Natura* disputed by the interest which we feel for man and the fortunes and development of the human race.

To show how far the so-called digressions of the *Georgics* are an integral part of the poem, no less than the really technical passages, would demand that we explore the latter to see how far they correspond to the ideal of the truly didactic treatise. After such a review it would be possible to separate the poem into sections integral and episodic—always supposing that we found good reason for a separation of the kind.

Here I do not propose to undertake so large a task, but only to attempt to show that the so-called episodes or digressions are so arranged in the poem as to supplement and balance one another by a very careful and considered method of composition, which puts it out of the question that the episodes suggested themselves to Virgil casually, and so puts it out of the question that they are in any real sense digressions at all.

Scholars have for some time been inclined to recognize a rough correspondence between individual books, a pairing-off of Book I with Book III and of Book II with Book IV. According to this view of the *Georgics,* if we spread out the whole poem at once before our eyes, we find it to consist structurally of two large 'chapters,' Books I-II and Books III-IV. The natural division, therefore, is not into four books, but into two double-books. However, the second 'chapter' does not, as in a novel, continue the first 'chapter' and carry on the whole work to a unique climax. Instead, in a way the second 'chapter' actually repeats the first, but with a variation of theme and some subtle expansion of the interest running along with what might fairly be called a development towards optimism (though that is also true for the sub-chapters).

Uncertain how far I may legitimately claim the support of

reason. Witte pursues similarity; I, contrast. Witte is technically absorbed; I, imperially. In fact, we interpret the poet so variously that it is not surprising that our correspondences fail to correspond, or, if they do, correspond on antagonistic principles. We should agree perhaps better if Witte treated IV, in its present shape, with less respect.

No attempt is, of course, made in this brief footnote to appraise any of Witte's work.

precedent authority for this structural theory, since the above
statement appears to represent at least its hitherto extreme form,
I should hold that the *Georgics* is certainly a two-chapter work,
but that the correspondence observed between the two chapters
fails to tell the whole story of a very intricate structural plan.
That double-chapter-balance is, I believe, dominant; but there
is also a formal correspondence between the sub-chapters in each
chapter, i. e. between Book I and Book II and between Book
III and Book IV, constituting a subordinate scheme of balance,
in comparison with the main scheme perhaps unimportant but
still worthy of attention.

The dominant balance, suspected indeed, has yet to be demon-
strated. To that task of demonstration therefore I shall chiefly
address myself. Once that task is successfully completed, if it
can be, the subordinate balances will perhaps emerge without
much help from outside.

Let us then, in a topical résumé (see " insert " opposite), set
down the *Georgics* as a two-chapter work, as a two-page book,
one page facing the other and each page in itself once divided;
and now, looking from left to right, consider whether there is
not at least a prima-facie case for designed correspondence be-
tween the chapters, and then, looking from up to down, consider
the case for formal balance between the sub-chapters, the half-
pages.

As not a little turns upon the way in which the *Georgics* is
presented in such a synopsis, the cry of *petitio principii* can easily
be raised in opposition. The answer is to request the opposition
to present a synoptic scheme seriously divergent from that given
here. Enough has been already written on the *Georgics* to
recommend far more drastic devices of economy to the modern
writer.

*   *   *

Now, in a work so constructed as we suppose the *Georgics* to
be, it is to be expected that the artist will have bestowed par-
ticular care on these points failure in which brings disaster upon
the whole edifice. If the *Georgics* is the intricate mechanism we
take it for, we look for signs of machine-like balance most of
all where the chapters and sub-chapters (or books) end. The
difficulty and importance of the conclusion was fully appreciated
by the Augustan poets, as by the orators.

It is obvious that on no definition of the word 'balance' ac-

ceptable to a serious student of Virgil's poetry can the latter half
of the Fourth Book be said at all to balance the corresponding
portion of the Second Book. The story of Aristaeus and the rest
spins the Fourth Book out to about the same length as the Second
Book. But we mean a great deal more than that by balance
and correspondence. However, for this absence of all true cor-
respondence at what is perhaps the most important point in the
whole poem we have a very good explanation in the Servian
tradition,[2] according to which the latter half of the Fourth Book
was entirely changed by Virgil, the original matter being cut
out, not merely rewritten or expurgated, and the matter which
we now read grafted on to the mutilated body of the *Georgics.*

Some good may come out of so much evil.

The very fact that just where a forced alteration of the
original poem took place the correspondence between Book II
and Book IV breaks down in a manner surprising enough to
amaze even the most ardent believers in Virgilian inconsequence,
actually gives us confidence to maintain that the correspondence
was originally quite thorough and was the keystone of a great
architectural plan; while the fact that the correspondence is,
however dimly at first sight, observable elsewhere gives us (if
we needed it) additional confidence to rely on Servius' infor-
mation.

The correspondence ought to break down here. Had Virgil in
the second edition, produced *irato Augusto* and *Augusto iubente,*
succeeded in presenting a fair correspondence between the second
halves of Books II and IV, we might have been in doubt whether
after all in such circumstances the whole correspondence-scheme
of the *Georgics* was not something of a happy accident, whether
it was not, in fact, our own invention.

[2] The evidence is:

Servius ad Ecl. X. 1: (Gallus) fuit autem amicus Vergilii adeo ut
quartus georgicorum a medio usque ad finem eius laudes teneret: quas
postea iubente Augusto in Aristaei fabulam commutauit;

Servius ad Georg. IV. 1: sane sciendum, ut supra diximus, ultimam
partem huius libri esse mutatam: nam laudes Galli habuit locus ille,
qui nunc Orphei continet fabulam, quae inserta est, postquam irato
Augusto Gallus occisus est.

These two statements, in spite of the carelessness which permits
' Aristaei fabulam ' and ' Orphei fabulam ', are precise enough for our
purpose.

For a work of art such as we suppose the *Georgics* to be is like a higher animal organism. · A moderate wound may be healed; but there is no growing again the lost limb. The best that can be done is to fit on something of hard wood or cork with joints as sadly artificial and awkward as the fable of Aristaeus.

With a little more information from Servius I believe that we could have a fair chance of recreating the old conclusion to the *Georgics*. As it is, we can guess intelligently, or we can be sure of the main lines on which that old conclusion ran, if it balanced the corresponding portion of Book II.

The present, however, is not the place for such speculations. It will be more profitable to turn to the second crucial point of balance.

In the synopsis given above *Georgics* I 466-514 and *Georgics* III 478-566 are paired off and labelled " contemporary history and sequel to the Ides of March ". The import of these two considerable passages has been, I think, often quite mistaken, or rather has remained successfully concealed from the prying eyes of too many Virgilian critics.

What is the import? Briefly, in both passages Virgil depicts the miseries brought upon the Roman world, and chiefly upon Italy, upon her men and beasts, by the act of treason towards the Julian house; and, while he deplores those miseries in sympathy with beast as well as with man, he deplores more the act of treason and he represents the miseries as inevitable consequences of the treason, a retribution extending to innocent men and innocent beasts, a verdict of nature proclaimed by sombre portents, against which no appeal could be heard by the divine powers.

Such, the poet teaches, must be the sequel when hands are raised against the Lord's Anointed, the Caesar and destined world-regenerator.

Thus, the concluding lines of Books I and III reinforce that homage to the Julian house which was offered in the opening paragraphs of Books I and III, and so fit very perfectly into a poem wherein the poet expounds his faith that the healthy future of the whole Empire is bound up with the Caesar who alone can bring its manifold elements to a harmonious co-operation.

In effect Virgil says: ' See what happened to us after March

15th 44 B. C.—to what a chaos and darkness our rural world was brought. And then, when you have seen, reject, if you dare, the Caesar.'

He adduces well-known facts; and, since he is able to adduce such facts, he need not preach too openly at his readers. He has only to arrange the facts in a certain order, indicate by a single particle the logic of his narrative, and leave the Italians to make the conclusion explicit for themselves.

Fortunately we are in no real doubt as to what are the facts to which he calls attention in *Georgics* I 466-514. Dio Cassius, Appian, Suetonius and Plutarch tell us all we need to know.

Julius Caesar was assassinated (*G* I 466).

Then followed tremendous portents in the days before Philippi.

The light of the sun became dull and diminished (*G* I 466-468: confirmed by Dio Cassius 45, 17, Plutarch *Julius Caesar,* 17, Pliny *N. H.* II, 18, and perhaps Appian IV, 1, 4).

Earth and sea, dogs and birds gave signs (*G* I 468-471: confirmed by Dio Cassius 45, 17, who speaks of earthquakes and dogs howling round the house of Lepidus—*quâ* pontifex maximus, of course—and by Appian IV, 1, 4).

Volcanic eruptions (*G* I 471-473: confirmed by Servius *ad loc.,* on Livy's authority). Clashing of arms in the sky (*G* I 474-475: confirmed by Dio Cassius 47, 2 and 40, and by Appian IV, 1, 4).

Earthquakes (*G* I 475: confirmed by Dio Cassius 45, 17).

Voices and ghostly apparitions (*G* I 476-478: confirmed by Appian IV, 1, 4).

Dumb brutes found voice (*G* I 478-479: confirmed by Appian IV, 1, 4).

Rivers stayed their course while the earth gaped (*G* I 479-480: confirmed as before by Dio Cassius 45, 17 and 47, 40).

Statues of religious significance exuded moisture (*G* I 480: confirmed by Appian IV, 1, 4 and by Dio Cassius 46, 33, who speaks of Minerva of Mutina as sweating blood and milk in successive processes).

Next, an overflow of the river Po (*G* I 481-483: confirmed by Dio Cassius 45, 17).

Inauspicious sacrifices and ensanguined wells (*G* I 483-485: partially confirmed by Dio Cassius 46, 33, who says that the

sacrifices customary before war could not be interpreted by the officials owing to the quantity of blood, to the discomfort of Vibius Pansa).

Wolves in town (*G* I 485-486: confirmed by Appian IV, 1, 4, who states that wolves came into the *forum* to join the howling dogs).

Thunderbolts (*G* I 487-488: confirmed by Dio Cassius 45, 17 and 47, 40 who speaks of Capitoline Juppiter's temple's being struck repeatedly, and by Appian IV, 1, 4).

Lastly, and most significantly, comets (*G* I 488: confirmed by Dio Cassius 45, 7, by Plutarch *Julius Caesar* 17, by Pliny *N. H.* II, 93-94, and by others if we are to understand Virgil to refer chiefly to the new Julian Star, or, if we take these comets for meteors, by Dio Cassius 47, 40).

There is no need of further proofs to show what is recognized by most Virgilian critics. Virgil has recorded with some precision the chief portents (most of them of the stock kind, but some quite out of the normal groove) between Ides of March and Philippi.

These portents followed the murder of Julius Caesar, which was the cause of them.

Ergo, Virgil continues, *ergo inter sese paribus concurrere telis Romanas acies iterum uidere Philippi.* Therefore, sudden death and wasted fields from which the tillers have departed to the wars.

Thus, by this *ergo* Virgil does not mean to say that the portents were the arch-cause of the human misery and agricultural decline. He finds the ultimate cause in the murder of Julius Caesar, the impious deed bringing inescapable retribution upon the Italians.

So much, I have said, seems generally agreed.

But the case with the corresponding paragraph of *Georgics* III, namely vv. 478-566, is rather different; for there few of our commentators have searched diligently for a sign, even such a sign as Dio Cassius will give.

Yet are there not plenty of signs to indicate that in *G* III 478-566 Virgil has again followed up the history of 44-42 B. C. through all its portents, with the same method and intention as in *G* I 466-514—with the exception that here in *Georgics* III

he does not need now to place at the head of his sermon the
fons et origo mali, Caesar's assassination?

In the first place, Virgil is clearly relating history, real events,
as his opening lines show:

G III 478-479:   hic quondam morbo caeli miseranda coorta est
                   tempestas totoque autumni incanduit aestu.

And need we go far to find such a condition as he describes?
Plutarch, *Julius Caesar,* 17, records that after Caesar's death
'the sun's orb continued pale and dull for the whole of that
year, never showing its ordinary radiance at rising and giving
but a weak and feeble heat. The air consequently was damp
and gross for want of stronger rays to open and rarefy it. The
fruits for that season never properly ripened.' And in *G* III
546 Virgil writes: *ipse est aer auibus non aequus.*

It may be objected that Plutarch is speaking of Italy, but not
so Virgil. The objection can be at once brushed aside. If Virgil
starts off by limiting his plague to Alps (whether or not includ-
ing Cisalpine Gaul's Alps), Noricum and Timavus, he certainly,
as his story proceeds, does not stay so far north. For the picture
becomes one rather of Italy, with all the ceremonial of official
religion. Moreover and on the other hand, what touches Italy
touches the rest of the Empire and what touches the rest of the
Empire touches Italy in this imperial poem.

Dio Cassius 45, 17 says, in his chapter on the portents for end
of 44 B. C. and beginning of 43 B. C.: ' Succeeding these terrors
a terrible plague spread over nearly all Italy, because of which
the senate voted that the Curia Hostilia should be rebuilt.'

It is true that Dio Cassius appears to limit the plague to
man—he mentions the sudden collapse of a lictor at the opening
sacrifices of 43 B. C.; but, putting Plutarch and Dio Cassius
together, I see little reason why we may not, even without poetic
license and in the absence of historians interested in the Alps
and the fortunes of the brute creation, include the domestic
beasts at least as victims of a plague arising whether because of
or whether merely concomitantly with such general conditions as
Plutarch describes.

We can at least be sure that Virgil has his eye again upon the
portents of 44-43 B. C.

G III 498-500: *labitur infelix studiorum atque immemor herbae uictor ecus fontisque auertitur et pede terram crebra ferit,*

may not be a reference to the remarkable facts recorded by Suetonius, *Julius Caesar* 81, 2: ' Shortly before his (Caesar's) death he was told that the herds of horses dedicated to the river Rubicon when he crossed it and left loose and without keepers stubbornly refused to graze and wept copiously'; though, it must be noted, Virgil seems to refer to this incident in *Eclogues* V 25-26: *nulla nec amnem | libauit quadrupes nec graminis attigit herbam.*

But we can say that *G* III 491, *nec responsa potest consultus reddere uates,* applies to 44-43 B. C. on the witness of Dio Cassius 46, 33, who says that ' the sacrifices customary before war could not be interpreted by reason of the quantity of blood.'

More important, Dio Cassius 45, 17 records: ' The Po, which had flooded a large portion of the surrounding territory suddenly receded and left behind on the dry land a vast number of snakes; and countless fish were cast up from the sea on the shore near the mouths of the Tiber.'

Virgil gives us precisely this rather unusual portent in *G* III 541-543:

> *iam maris immensi prolem et genus omne natantum*
> *litore in extremo ceu naufraga corpora fluctus*
> *proluit; insolitae fugiunt in flumina phocae.*

These lines he follows with:

> *interit et curvis frustra defensa latebris*
> *vipera et attoniti squamis adstantibus hydri.*

Evidently the earthquakes sent in some sort of a tidal wave and washed the snakes out as well as washed the fishes up.

Virgil had, in *G* I, we have seen, already noted the overflow of the Po.

Horace, *Odes* I VI, may refer to the same overflow of the Tiber.

The final link in the chain of evidence associating Virgil's Plague with the Italy of 44-43 B. C. is forged from the comparison of *Georgics* I 483 and 487-490 with *Georgics* III 531-533: from which it is clear that Virgil had the first passage consciously before him when he wrote the second:

G I	G III
483 *tempore eodem*	531 *tempore non alio* dicunt re-
487 *non alias* caelo ceciderunt	gionibus illis
plura sereno	532 quaesitas ad sacra boves Iu-
488 fulgura: nec diri toties ar-	nonis et uris
sere cometae.	533 *imparibus* ductos alta ad do-
489 *ergo* inter sese *paribus* con-	naria *currus*.
currere telis	534 *ergo* aegre rastris terram ri-
490 Romanas acies iterum uidere	mantur et ipsis
Philippi.	535 unguibus infodiunt fruges,
	montisque per altos
	536 contenta ceruice trahunt stri-
	dentia plaustra.

We know that in *Georgics* I Virgil is referring to the portents of 44-43 B. C. The comparison of these two passages, having an identity of arrangement and phraseology scarcely to be taken for accidental, coming on top of the other evidence offered to connect this portion of *Georgics* III with the same period, seems finally decisive for the import of this final so-called digression of *Georgics* III. It subserves precisely the same purpose as the final so-called digression of *Georgics* I.

In *Georgics* I 489, as we saw, after enumerating the signs succeeding Caesar's murder, Virgil sums up with his *ergo—ergo,* Roman against Roman, they left their bones at Philippi.

So in *Georgics* III 534, after the horrors of the plague—*ergo,* their own backs bend to the plough, with their very finger-nails they grub in the earth.

It is again retribution for the Ides of March.

And then the correspondence and balance between *G* I 465-514 and *G* III 478-566 is substantiated. Without that correspondence *G* III 475-506 would be a mere purple patch stitched upon the poem, and the purple of it would be the surprising purple of Roman mourning.

Assuming that in the original poem some similar balance was provided at the end of *Georgics* IV so as to ensure a proper correspondence with the final ' digression ' of *Georgics* II, Virgil has provided adequately for the critical points of conclusion.

The correspondence between his openings is quite as evident. At the beginning of each book he gives a statement of work contemplated and he mentions the name of the poem's patron, Maecenas.

At the beginning of each pair of books (each ' Chapter ') he stations a passage of what can only be called courtly homage to Augustus. These passages occur, of course, in Books I and III; but they occur in these books not as isolated books but as first halves of a chapter. Nothing like them is found at the start of Books II and IV because there we have, not the beginning of a Chapter, a main division, but only the beginning of a sub-chapter, a subordinate division.

Further, while they serve to reinforce the loyal sentiment of those sombre conclusions to *Georgics* I and III, they also extend their influence over the happy ending which we still have for *Georgics* II and that which we probably had for *Georgics* IV, if ' *laudes Galli* ' means anything. All good things come from above. Caesar stands at the head, presiding over the destinies of an imperial husbandry which stands or falls with healthy politics.

It is no part of Virgil's task to discourage his contemporaries. If he reads them a warning lesson in *Georgics* I and III· he balances it with a message of promise in *Georgics* II (and IV). He ended, we may be sure, on a note of hopefulness, passing from the plague to the harvest, as if to symbolise the passing of the iron age of civil wars into the *Pax Augusta*.

Such are main formal arrangements·for openings and endings. Along with these there are two slight variant motives of correspondence between the two books of each ' Chapter ', which are indicated in the Synopsis given above.

For the middle parts it will again be almost sufficient to study the Synopsis in order to see the scheme of correspondence; though once more I would warn my reader that something turns upon the wording of the titles given to the various paragraphs and he is not bound to accept, e. g. for *Georgics* II 136-176, " The opulent majesty of Italy " as an adequate title to the paragraph.

It would be ridiculous to pretend, or to expect, that Virgil has left·obvious and heavy traces of correspondence between the paragraphs. But at least there are not wanting altogether evidences.

Thus, the closing lines of *Georgics* I 259-310; a paragraph entitled on page 5 ' a winter's day ', and of III 295-321, en-

titled ' a summer's day ', certainly seem to suggest that the two paragraphs were written as a ' pair ':

Georgics I 307-311:	*Georgics* III 335-340:
tum gruibus pedicas et retia ponere cervis,	*tum* tenues dare rursus aquas, et pascere rursus
auritosque sequi lepores; *tum* figere dammas,	solis ad occasum, *cum* frigidus aera vesper
stuppea torquentem Balearis verbera fundae,	temperat, et saltus reficit iam roscida luna,
cum nix alta iacet, glaciem *cum* flumina trudunt.	litoraque alcyonem resonant, acalanthida dumi.
quid tempestates autumni et sidera dicam.. *?*	*quid* tibi pastores Libyae, quid pascua versu prosequar........ *?*

The formal similarities may be more than accidental.

Precisely the same parallelism is observable in the conclusions to *Georgics* II 136-176, ' the opulent majesty of Italy ', and *Georgics* IV 116-148, ' the simple charms of Italy ':

Georgics II 176-178:	*Georgics* IV 148-150:
Ascra'eumque cano Romana per oppida carmen.	Praetereo atque aliis post me memoranda relinquo.
Nunc locus arvorum ingeniis; *quae* robora cuique,	*nunc* age, naturas apibus *quas* Juppiter ipse
Quis color, et *quae* sit rebus natura ferendis.	addidit expediam, pro *qua* mercede...

In either conclusion Virgil introduces himself and his poetic plan to the reader's notice directly; and passes from the subject with ' *nunc* ' and the tribe of *quae, quis,* etc.

Of course, he has not an unlimited choice of methods of transition in such cases; but the coincidence is there, however weakened, for this argument, by that consideration.

Again, the so-called geographical digression of *Georgics* I 231-258, dealing *inter cetera* with North and South, Scythia and Libya (*see* vv. 240-241), is naturally correspondent to and carried on by the geographical digression of *Georgics* III 339-383, dealing with the herdsmen of South and North, Libya and Scythia. The latter paragraph supplies the human interest and so completes the former.

Most of the rest are obvious, and indeed, are undeniably formal correspondences: so that it is unnecessary in their case

3

to look for what are, after all, probably no more than traces of the workshop-process unconsciously left by the workman.

The existence of a law or plan in a complete artistic structure is proved rather by its propriety and efficiency, under the special conditions of the art. To be obtrusive or self-advertising, except under analysis, is no function of the law.

The scheme of correspondence is intricate and very carefully arranged. The length, the subject-matter, the spirit or philosophy of the paired paragraphs have all been anxiously considered. To attempt a detailed exposition of all these matters would involve a journey far beyond the limits proposed for this examination of the formal structure of the *Georgics*. But I may say perhaps that on the whole Virgil shows a tendency to balance a first of severity against a second of lighter mood—precisely the contrary to what is found in the *Aeneid*. There is also a progressive expansion of interest from Italy out over the Empire.

Of more importance to this enquiry, the correspondences are found to exist between 'Chapter' and 'Chapter', between opposing sub-chapters (i. e. between Book I and Book III and between Book II and Book IV) and between the sub-chapters of books in each 'chapter' or double-book (i. e. between Books I and II and Books III and IV).

But there is no correspondence between the non-opposing sub-chapters (i. e. none between Book I and Book IV or between Book II and Book III).

You can read this two-page Codex down each page and from the left page to the right page opposite; but you cannot read diagonally.

Can we then speak of the 'digressions' or 'episodes' of the *Georgics* and mean anything serious?

But can we continue to mislead ourselves and others with the prejudice inevitably bound up with the use of that name 'Georgics'?

For these four books, not in any way separable, are seen to form together a true unity; and the united poem is so far from being conventionally didactic that the selected agricultural field, comes perilously near being lost in the vast domain of imperial interest.

D. L. DREW.

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PAPYRUS FRAGMENTS OF EXTANT GREEK LITERATURE.

The collection of papyri at Columbia University contains the following fragments of extant works of Greek literature.

P. Columbia Inv. no. 472.   5¾″ x 2¼″.   Third Century A. D.[1]
Iliad I, 258-278.

[οι πε]ρι μεν β[ουλην δαναων περι δ εστε μαχεσθαι]
[αλλα] πιθεσθ' α[μφω δε νεωτερω εστον εμειο]
260 [ηδη γ]αρ ποτ [εγω και αρειοσιν ηε περ υμιν]
[ανδ]ρασιν ωμ[ιλησα και ου ποτε μ οι γ αθεριζον]
[ου γ]αρ πω τόιο[υς ιδον ανερας ουδε ιδωμαι]
[οιο]ν πειριθο[ον τε δρυαντα τε ποιμενα λαων]
264 [και]νέα τ' εξαδ[ιον τε και αντιθεον πολυφημον]
266 [καρ]τιστοι δη κ[εινοι επιχθονιων τραφεν ανδρων]
[καρ]τιστοι μεν [εσαν και καρτιστοις εμαχοντο]
[φη]ρσιν ορεσκω[ιοισι και εκπαγλως απολεσσαν]
[και] μεν τοισιν ε[γω μεθομιλεον εκ πυλου ελθων]
270 [τηλ]όθεν εξ α[πιης γαιης καλεσαντο γαρ αυτοι]
[και] μαχομην κ[ατ εμ αυτον εγω κεινοισι δ αν ου τις]
[των] οι νυν βρο[τοι εισιν επιχθονιοι μαχεοιτο]
[και μ]έν μευ βου[λεων ξυνιεν πειθοντο τε μυθωι]
[αλλα] πιθεσθε κ[αι υμμες επει πειθεσθαι αμεινον]
275 [μητ]ε συ τονδ' αγ[αθ]ος [περ εων αποαιρεο κουρην]
[αλλ] εα ως οι πρωτα δ[ο]σαν γερας υιες αχαιων]
[μη]τε συ πηλειδη θ[ελ εριζεμεναι βασιληι]
[αν...]βιην επι ου πο[θ ομοιης εμμορε τιμης]

A book hand resembling that of the Julius Africanus papyrus,[2] with use of apostrophes to denote elision, and of acute accents, as shown.

This passage is represented in the following published papyri:

P. Rylands 43, of the early third century A. D. (beginnings of lines 258-264; 266-274; 277-278).

P. Oxyrhynchus III, 537, of the second or third century A. D., and 538, of the third century A. D. (beginnings of lines 258-264; 266; 273-278).

P. Fayum 141, of the first or second century A. D. (lines 273-278).

Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana VII, 745, probably of the second century A. D. (ends of lines 276-278).

This papyrus, like the other Iliad fragments which follow, contains a vulgate text, as was to be expected.[3] It agrees with Ryl. 43 and Oxy. 537 in the omission of the interpolated line 265, and agrees with Oxy. 538, Fay. 141, and P. S. I. VII, 745 against Ryl. 43 in the inclusion of 275-6, adding to the evidence that the omission of these lines in the latter was due to haplography.[4]

In 259 our fragment has πίθεσθ' and in 274 πίθεσθε, the better readings, while Ryl. 43 reads 259 πειθ[εσθ'] and 274 πειθεσθαι, and Oxy. 538 has 274 π[[ε]]ιθεσθε.

The Columbia fragment agrees with Ryl. 43, Oxy. 538, the mediaeval mss., and Aristarchus in reading 277 πηλειδη θ[ελ] instead of πηλειδη εθελ.

P. Columbia Inv. no. 463 A.   4½″ x 4″.   Third Century A. D.
Iliad II, 188-202.

[ον τινα μεν β] ασι[λ]ηα και εξοχον ανδρα κ[ι]χείη

[τον δ αγανοις ε]πε[ε] σσιν ερητυσασκέ παραστας

190 [δαιμονι ου σ]ε εοικε κακον ως δειδίσσεσ[θ]αι

[αλλ αυτος τε καθησο] κα[ι] άλλους [ι]δρυε λαους

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[2] P. Oxy. III, 412 (Plate V).

[3] Cf. G. M. Bolling, *The Archetype of Our Iliad,* A. J. P. XXXV (1914), p. 128.

[4] For a discussion of these particular lines see Bolling, *op. cit.,* pp. 132 and 136. For a summary of the evidence of the Homeric papyri

[ου γαρ πω σαφα οισθ] οιος νόος ατρέιδαω

[νυν μεν πειραται τα]χ[α δ] ιψεται υιας αχ[α]ιων

[εν βουληι δ ου παντε]ς ακουσαμεν οιον εειπε

195 [μη τι χολωσαμενος] ρεξη κακον υιας αχαιων

[θυμος δε μεγας εστι διοτρε]φ[εο]ς βασ[ι]ληος

[τιμη δ εκ διος εστι φιλει δε ε μητιε]τα ζευς

[ον δ αυ δημου τ ανδρα ιδοι β]οοωντα τ εφ[εν]ροι

[τον σκηπτρωι ελασασκε]ν ομοκλησα[σ]κ[ε τε μυθωι]

200 [δαιμονι ατρεμας ησο και αλ]λων μυ[θο]ν ακ[ουε]

[οι σεο φερτεροι εισι συ δ απτολ]εμος και α[ναλκις]

[ουτε ποτ εν πολεμωι εναριθμιο]ς [ο]υτ' ενι β[ουληι]

Illegible traces of a single letter of line 203 are visible.
There are a few illegible letters on the verso. The fragment is
badly worm-eaten and tattered. The script resembles a business
rather than a book hand, and is somewhat similar to that of
P. Ryl. II, 117; compare Schubart, *Griech. Palaeographie*, p. 83.
There is occasional use of accent and apostrophe, as shown.
Iota adscript is omitted in 195 ρεξη.

This whole passage is contained in Kenyon, Classical Texts,
Papyrus CXXVI, p. 81 ff.,[5] of the third century A. D. P. Tebt.
I, 4, of the late second century B. C., contains the beginnings
of lines 197-202, and P. Hawara [6] of the second century A. D.
has 200-203.

There are sharp divisions in the evidence for two readings in
this passage, and it is interesting to note that the Columbia
fragment agrees essentially in one case, and disagrees in the
other, with the papyrus published by Kenyon:

192. *Class. Texts* ατρειδαο; P. ·Col. 463 A ατρειδαω (the read-
ing generally adopted is ατρειωνος).

196. *Class. Texts* διοτρεφεων βασιληων; P. Col. 463 A
[διοτρε]φ[εο]ς βασ[ι]ληος.

⌐n interpolated lines see Rolling, *The External Evidence for Interpo-
lation in Homer* (Oxford, 1925), Part I.

[5] Cf. F. G. Kenyon, *Palaeography of the Greek Papyri*, p. 105 f.

[6] Edited by Sayce in W. F. Petrie, *Hawara, Biahmu and Arsinoe*,
London. 1889, pp. 24-25.

P. Col. Inv. no. 492 B.   3½″ x 2¾″:   First Half of Second
Century A. D.

Iliad VI, 216-228.

[οινευς γαρ ποτε δι]ος α[μυμονα βελλεροφοντην]

[ξεινισ ενι με]γα[ρ]οισιν εε[ικοσιν ηματ ερυξας]

[οι δε και αλληλο]ισι πορον ξ[εινηια καλα]

[οινευς μεν ζω]στηρα διδ[ου φοινι]κι φ[αεινον]

220 [βελλεροφοντ]ης δε χρυσεον [δεπα]ς αμφ[ικυπελλον]

[και μιν εγω κατ]ελειπον ιων [ε]ν δωμασ εμ[οισι]

[τυδεα δ ου μεμ]νημαι επει μ ετι τυτθον [εοντα]

[καλλιφ οτ εν θ]ηβηισιν απωλετο λαος αχ[αιων]

[τωι νυν σοι με]ν εγω ξεινος φ[ι]λος αργει μ[εσσωι]

225 [ειμι συ δ εν λυκι]ηι οτε κεν των δημον ικ[ωμαι]

[εγχεα δ αλλη]λων αλεωμεθα και δι ομι[λου]

[πολλοι μεν γα]ρ εμοι τρωες κλειτοι τ επικ[ουροι]

[κτεινειν ον κε θ εος γε πορη και ποσσι κιχ[ειω]

The column ends with line 228; a margin of about one inch remains below it.

A book hand, with frequent use of ligatures; its script is to be classed with that of the group of literary papyri discussed by W. Schubart, *Griech. Palaeographie*, p. 123 extr. No accents are used. Iota adscript is found in 223 [θ]ηβησιν and 225 [λυκι]ηι, but is omitted in 228 πορη.

No other papyrus contains the portions of these lines found in this fragment, but a recently published Oslo papyrus[7] has a few letters at the ends of lines 216, 219-224.

The Columbia fragment has the preferred reading in cases where the manuscript evidence is divided:

221.   [κατ]ελειπον not κατελιπον;

225.   των δημον not τον δημον;

227.   κλειτοι not κλητοι;

228.   πορη not ποροι.

[7] Edited by G. Rudberg in Symbolae Osloenses III (1925), pp. 20-25.

P. Columbia Inv. no. 414.   3½″ x 4½″.   Third Century A. D.
Iliad XIV, 367-376.

$$\overset{\mu}{[\nu\eta\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu\ \epsilon\pi\iota\ \gamma\lambda\alpha\phi\upsilon\rho\eta]'\sigma\iota[\![\nu]\!]\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\iota\ \kappa\epsilon\chi\omega\lambda\omega\mu\epsilon\nu\sigma\varsigma\ \mathring{\eta}\tau\sigma\rho}$$

$$\overset{\dot\epsilon\sigma}{[\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu\sigma\upsilon\ \delta\ \sigma\upsilon\ \tau\iota\ \lambda\iota\eta\nu\ \pi]\sigma\theta\eta\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota\cdot\ \epsilon\mathring{\iota}\ \kappa\epsilon\nu\ \sigma\mathring{\iota}\ \alpha\lambda\lambda\sigma\iota}$$

$$\overset{(\delta\alpha\nu\alpha\sigma\iota\sigma\iota)}{[\eta\mu\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \sigma\tau\rho\upsilon\nu\omega\mu\epsilon\theta\ \alpha]\mu\upsilon\nu\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\nu[\![\alpha\iota]\!]\ \alpha\lambda\lambda\eta\lambda\sigma\iota\sigma\iota\nu}$$

370 [αλλ αγεθ ως αν εγων ειπ]ω πειθώμεθα πάντες

[ασπιδες οσσαι αρισται ε]νι στρατῶ ἠδε μεγισται

[εσσαμενοι κεφαλας δ]ε πὰναιθῆ'σιν κορύθεσσιν

$$\overset{\lambda}{[\kappa\rho\upsilon\psi\alpha\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \chi\epsilon\rho\sigma\iota\nu\ \tau\epsilon\ \tau\alpha]\ \mu\alpha\kappa\rho\acute{\sigma}\tau\alpha\tau'\ \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\chi\epsilon'\ \epsilon\chi\acute{\sigma}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma}$$

[ιομεν αυταρ εγων ηγησ]ομαί [ο]υδ ἔτι φῆμι

375 [εκτορα πριαμιδην] μενεειν [μ]άλα περ μεμαῶτα

[ος δε κ ανηρ μενεχαρμ]ος [εχει δ ολιγον σακὸς ωμωι]

A book hand, somewhat similar to that of Inv. no. 472, with accents, breathings, and apostrophes, as shown.   Iota adscript is omitted in 371 στρατῶ, but the marks between η and σ of 367 [γλαφυρη]'σι and 372 πὰναιθῆ'σιν are evidently intended for iotas.

This passage is also found in P. Morgan,[a] of the third or fourth century A. D., and in the papyrus of the first century A. D. published by A. S. Hunt in Journ. Philol. XXVI, 51 (1899), pp. 25-59.   While these papyri are in close agreement with the accepted text in that part of the passage which appears in the Columbia fragment, the latter contains two new variant readings:

369.   [α]μυνεμεναι δαναοισι (compare 362) for αμυνεμεν αλλη-λοισιν;

373.   εχοντες for ελοντες.

In 367 ν has been crossed out by passing through it a short line running diagonally downward from left to right, and a small μ has been placed directly above it.

In 369 the omitted letters εσ are placed in small script directly over the σ in the line.

In 369 the last two letters of [α]μυνεμεναι have been crossed out by running two light horizontal lines through them, and δαναοισι, enclosed in curved brackets, has been written, in what seems to be a different hand, directly above the letters αλληλο. Probably the original scribe wrote the impossible αμυνεμειαι αλληλοισιν, a second hand inserted δαναοισι to replace αλληλοισιν, and a third hand deleted the last two letters of αμυνεμεναι by crossing them out, and δαναοισι by enclosing it in " parentheses ", thus restoring the common reading.

In 373 the χ of εχοντες is not deleted, but a small λ is written directly above it.

P. Columbia Inv. no. 492 A.   First Half of Second Century A. D.
        Two Fragments of the Same Manuscript.
            Plato, Phaedrus 266 B and 266 D.
                1. 2½″ x 1¼″.   266 B.

       [τειναμενο]ς επηνε
       [σεν ως με]γιστων αι
       [τιον ημιν] αγαθων:
       [αληθεστα]τα λεγεις:
    5 [τουτων] δη εγωγε
       [αυτος τε ε]ραστης ω·
       [φαιδρε τω]ν ξυναιρε
       [σεων και] ξυναγω·
       [γων ινα οι]ος τε ω λε
    10 [γειν τε και] φρονειν
       [εαν τε τινα α]λλον

The blank space above the first line of this fragment shows that we have here part of the top of a column; the second fragment is probably from about the middle of the next column.

                2. 4½″ x 1¼″.   266 D.

       [του]τω[ν απολειφθεν]
       ομως τε[χνηι λαμβα]
       νεται παν[τως δ ου]

15 κ ατιμαστε[ον αυτο]

    σοι τε και ε[μοι λεκτε]

    ον δε τι με[ντοι και]

    εστι το λειπ[ομενον]

    της ρητορι[κης : και]

20 μαλα που συ[χνα ω]

    [σ]ωκρατες τ[α γ εν τοις]

    [β]ιβλιοις τοι[ς περι λο]

    [γ]ων τεχνη[ς γεγραμ]

    [μ]ενοις · και [καλως]

25 [γε] υπεμνη[σας προ]

    [οιμ]ιον μεν [οιμαι]

    [πρ]ωτον ως δ[ει του]

    [λο]γου λεγεσθ[αι επ αρ]

    [χη]ι ταυτα λεγ[εις]

30 [η] γαρ τα κομψα τ[ης τ]

    [εχ]νης : ναι : δ[ευτ]

    [ερ]ον δε δη δι[ηγησιν]

    [τι]να μαρτυ[ριας τ]

    [επ αυτ]ηι τ[ριτον]

A small, neat book hand, very similar to that of P. Oxy. XIII, 1606 (Plate II). Double dots (and perhaps a single dot in line 24) are used to signify a change of speaker, and single dots evidently to fill out short lines. There is one circumflex accent (9). Iota adscript is omitted once (1 επηνε[σεν]) and used once (34 [αυτ]ηι); at the beginning of 29 we cannot be certain.

There seem to be no other published papyri which contain this passage. The few variations from the Codex Bodleianus [9] (whose readings I have used in filling out the gaps) are as follows:

3. The papyrus has correctly the double dots after συνθων, which Bodl. omits.

[9] I have used the transcript given in I. C. Vollgraff's edition of the *Phaedrus* (Leiden, 1902).

685 [η δ οτε δη νυχιων απο δειματα πεμψεν ο]νειρων.
·   [αυτικ επειτ αψορρον απεστιχε τους δ αμ ε]πεσθαι
     [χειρι καταρρεξασα δολοφροσυνηισιν ανωγ]εν·
·   [ενθ ητοι πληθυς μεν εφετμαις αισονιδ]αο
     [μιμνεν απηλεγεως ο δ ερυσσατο κολχιδα] κουρην
690 [αμφω δ εσπεσθην αυτην οδον εστ αφικ]οντο
     [κιρκης εις μεγαρον τους δ εν λιπαροισι κ]ελευεν
     [ηγε θρονοις εζεσθαι αμηχανεουσα κιον]των
     [τω δ ανεωι και αναυδοι εφ εστιηι αιξαντε]ς
     [ιζανον η τε δικη λυγροις ικετηισι τετυ]κται
695 [η μεν επ αμφοτεραις θεμενη χειρεσσι μ]ετω[πα]
     [αυταρ ο κωπηεν μεγα φασγανον εν χθον]ι πη[ξας]

Col. II.

ἰ ⌐

μνῆστις ἀεικελίη [δυνεν φρενας ορμαινουσαν]
725 ἵετο δ' αυ κουρη[s] εμφ[υλιον ιδμεναι ομφην]
     αυτίχ' οπως ε[νο]ησεν [απ ουδεος οσσε βαλουσαν]
     πασα γαρ ηελιου γεν[εη αριδηλος ιδεσθαι]
                    ε
     ηεν· επι βλεφαρων [αποτηλοθι μαρμαρυγηισιν]
     ὁιον τε χρυσέην αν[τωπιον ιεσαν αιγλην]
730 η δ' αρα τῆ̔ τ[α ε]καστα [διειρομενηι κατελεξεν]
     κολχιδα γῆρυν ἱεῖ[σα βαρυφρονος αιηταο]
     κουρη μειλιχιως· ἠ[μεν στολον ηδε κελευθους]
     ηρωων· ὁσ[α] τ' [α]μφι [θοοις εμογησαν αεθλοις]
     ως τε κασιγν[η]της [πολυκηδεος ηλιτε βουλαις]
735 ως τ' απονοσφιν αλ[υξεν υπερβια δειματα πατρος]
     συν παισι φριξοιο· φο[νον δ αλεεινεν ενισπειν]
     αψυρτου· την δ ουτι ν[οωι λαθεν αλλα και εμπης]
     μῦρομενην ελεα[ιρεν επος δ επι τοιον εειπεν]
     [σ]χετλιη. ἠ ρα κακον [και αεικεα μησαο νοστον]

740 ἐλπομαι ουκ επι δή[ν σε βαρυν χολον αιηταο]

εκφυγεειν· ταχα δ' ε[ισι και ελλαδος ηθεα γαιης]

τϊσομενος φονον [υιος οτ ασχετα εργ ετελεσσας]

αλλ επ[ει ουν ικε]τις κ[αι ομογνιος επλευ εμειο]

[αλλο μεν ουτι] κακ[ον μητισομαι ενθαδ ιουσηι]

The recto contains slight remains of a register.

The script is to be classed as a book hand, but tends toward the cursive, and is in some respects similar to Inv. no. 463 A. Carefully placed dots on and above the line are used for punctuation, and accents, breathings, etc., are employed as shown. The mark in 730 after τη is probably an iota (compare Inv. no. 414, lines 367 and 372).

The fragment contains the right and left sides, respectively, of the tops of two columns. It is evident that Col. I contained lines 675-723, 49 in number, and as Col. II is numbered 16, the numbering of these columns began with the beginning of Book IV, as was to be expected. The number of lines in the first fifteen columns must then have averaged about 48 each. At this rate the four books would have occupied, respectively, 29, 27, 30, and 38 columns.

These passages seem to be contained in no other known papyrus. There are no important variants from the accepted text: in 676 the papyrus agrees with Cod. Laur. in reading [εβλαστησ]εν instead of εβλαστησε; in 693 it appears to have contained [αιξαντε]ς, the reading of the two Vatican mss., rather than αιξαντε; and in 736 we find agreement with Cod. Guelf. in the reading παισι instead of παισιν.

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NOTES ON THE *AGRICOLA* OF TACITUS.

I

> 33. 2: Septimus annus est, commilitones, ex quo virtute
> et auspiciis imperii Romani, fide atque opera nostra Britan-
> niam vicistis.

There are other points of interest in this sentence; but the
present discussion has to do only with the phrases *virtute et
auspiciis imperii Romani* and *fide atque opera nostra*.

The *Agricola* has been much edited; and it sometimes hap-
pens that the commentary on a frequently discussed passage
tends to run off into refinements that lead far afield and distract
attention from simpler possibilities.

To the phrases above quoted the Furneaux-Anderson edition
devotes nearly a page of notes, arriving at no very satisfactory
conclusion as to the meaning of *virtute et auspiciis imperii
Romani,* and emending *opera nostra* to *opera vestra*.

Without attempting to untangle the snarl of comment in
which this passage has become involved, attention is invited to
a line of interpretation which calls for no emendation of the
received text; namely, that *opera nostra* is intended to balance
auspiciis imperii Romani, and that it is merely a striking variant
for *ductu meo*.[1]

On this basis, each of the two phrases would represent a sort
of hendiadys: "by valor under the imperial aegis, by loyalty
under my direction." This interpretation keeps the soldiers in
the foreground, and it fits perfectly with the fact that the verb
is in the second person, thus eliminating the chief considera-
tions that have inspired emendation of the received text.

In support of this understanding of the passage, it may be
pertinent to note the strikingly similar structure of a sentence
in which Agricola's own success as a tiro is recorded:

> 8. 3: Ita *virtute in obsequendo, verecundia in praedi-
> cando* extra invidiam nec extra gloriam erat.

[1] The dominant force of traditional commentary is well illustrated
here by the fact that, trailing along in the wake of Wex, Peter (ad
loc.) quite misses this connection, though in his note on *auspiciis* he
cites Tacitus, *Ann.*, II, 41, 1: ob recepta signa cum Varo amissa *ductu*
Germanici, *auspiciis* Tiberii.

In the citation which is the subject of this note, many try to find in *opera* a direct reference to the activity of the soldiers; and this leads to the emendation *vestra* for *nostra*. In support of this procedure Wex (ad loc.) remarks: " Eadem de causa dicit ' fide atque opera vestra ', quae sollemnis est *sociorum* laudatio," citing two passages from Livy, one of which follows:

> xxiii. 46. 6 : Ducenti septuaginta duo equites, mixti Numidae (et) Hispani, ad Marcellum transfugerunt. Eorum *forti fideli*que *opera* in eo bello usi sunt saepe Romani.

This is a not uncommon turn of phrase. But it is not restricted to the service of allied troops or of common soldiers, as is shown conclusively by the example that is most familiar of all:

> Cicero, *in Cat.* iii. 14: Deinde L. Flaccus et C. Pomptinus praetores, quod eorum *opera forti fideli*que usus essem, merito ac iure laudantur.[2]

Here a consul uses the word *opera* of the activity of officials who rank next to himself in the cursus. It could apply equally well to Agricola's leadership in a position to which he was appointed by an emperor.

II

> 4. 4: Memoria teneo solitum ipsum narrare se prima in iuventa studium philosophiae acrius, ultraque quam concessum Romano ac senatori, hausisse, ni prudentia matris incensum ac flagrantem animum coercuisset.

The old-time practice of falling back upon " ellipsis " as an explanation for unusual sentence-structure still survives strongly in the exegesis of conditional periods of the form *erat, si . . . esset*. Elsewhere the present writer has tried to show that, for Tacitus at any rate, this type of conditional sentence normally involves anacoluthon rather than ellipsis.[3]

In the passage cited above, the situation is complicated by the fact that the conditional period stands in indirect discourse. In such a case, an author proceeds on the principle of analogy; and since the perfect infinitive may represent any antecedent time,

[2] Cf. Livy, XXVIII, 9, 20.

[3] *University of California Publications in Classical Philology*, VII, 100 ff.

it should not be forgotten that there is also a direct form *fuerat,*
ni . . . fuisset; e. g.

> Tacitus, *Hist.* iii. 27. 5: *Incesserat* cunctatio, *ni* duces
> fesso militi. . . . Cremonam *monstrassent.*

This type of conditional sentence is common enough in cur-
rent English, and no one would think of treating it as elliptical.[4]
So in the citation that stands at the head of this note, if the plu-
perfect indicative is thought of as in the author's mental back-
ground, we should be warranted in rendering simply: "he had
imbibed too eagerly, had not the foresight of his mother," etc.

In the *Agricola* there is also another passage to which the
ellipsis theory is applied with very heavy and unconvincing
effect:

> 31. 5: Brigantes femina duce exurere coloniam, expug-
> nare castra, ac nisi felicitas in socordiam vertisset, exuere
> iugum potuere.

Here the order of clauses precludes the anacoluthic effect that
often is favored when a condition follows. But it should be
noted that among the meanings of the verb *posse* are "be in a
position (to)", "be in a condition (to)", and the like; e. g.

> Plautus, *Tri.* 812 ff.:
> > Iam dudum ebriust.
> Quidvis probare poterit.

It is here a question of palming off a fraudulent document
upon a young man. It is assumed that there will be no trouble
in the matter, because he *will be in a condition* to accept with-
out question anything offered.[5]

Applying this observation to the sentence above, and recog-
nizing merely a slight zeugma in connection with *potuere,* the
meaning will be: "With a woman to lead them the Brigantes
were able to burn a colony and storm the camps, and had not

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[4] Nor does it concern the point here at issue that the philologist
informs us that in the biblical "Lord, if thou hadst been here, my
brother had not died", the phrase 'had not died' is subjunctive. In
present-day linguistic consciousness it is a pluperfect indicative that
is used in sentences made on this model.

[5] For further discussion of this point see *University of California
Publications in Classical Philology,* VIII, 108 ff.

their good fortune issued in carelessness, they *were in a position* to throw off the yoke."

III

    43. 2 : Augebat miserationem constans rumor veneno interceptum. Nobis nihil comperti adfirmare ausim.

This passage having to do with the circumstances of Agricola's death has suffered from too intensive and myopic treatment. The Furneaux-Anderson edition emends by inserting *ut* before *adfirmare* (as suggested by Wex as early as 1852), and with the following comment:

    " The MSS text . . . would mean ' I may venture (I would make bold) to state positively that we have no ascertained evidence '."

That is sheer absurdity; and neither this emendation nor any other among those proposed is necessary. In Latin, as well as in English, it is perfectly good form to combine with a pronoun the negative that logically belongs to the verb, e. g. " I want *nothing* " for " I do *not want* anything," and " I venture to affirm *nothing* " for " I do *not venture* to affirm anything."

This is just what Tacitus has done in the passage above cited. The text as it stands in the manuscripts means : " I should *not venture* to affirm the discovery of *any* definite evidence by us." Cf. the following :

    Cicero, *ad Att.* ii. 4. 3 : De geographia dabo operam ut tibi satis faciam ; sed *nihil* certi polliceor.

Here again the negative clearly belongs to the verb ; Cicero will do his best, but he *does not promise anything* definite. So also :

    Catullus, 64. 145 ff. :
    Quis dum aliquid cupiens animus praegestit apisci,
    Nil metuunt iurare, *nihil* promittere parcunt.

    Martial, v. 28. 1 ff. :
        Ut bene loquatur sentiatque Mamercus,
        Efficere *nullis*, Aule, moribus possis.

    Tacitus, *Agr.* 16. 6 : . . . nisi quod innocens Bolanus et *nullis* delictis invisus caritatem paraverat loco auctoritatis.

It is hard to understand how whole generations of editors should go astray in a matter so simple as this. The fact empha-

    4

Tacitus, *Ann.* xii. 20. 2: Sed disserebatur contra *suscipi* bellum avio itinere, importuoso mari.

This subject calls for further investigation.[7]   Sometimes both present and future infinitive are used together in a single sentence.[8]   Most striking is an example in which the present infinitive is accompanied by the adverb *cras:*

> Terence, *Phor.* 531 ff.:
> *Cras* mane argentum mihi
> Miles *dare* se dixit.

(d)

43. 4: Satis constabat lecto testamento Agricolae, quo coheredem optimae uxori et piissimae filiae Domitianum scripsit, laetatum eum velut honore iudicioque.

The force of *iudicio* in this passage is a matter of debate. The following citation may have some bearing on the question:

> Seneca, *de Ben.* i. 15. 5 ff.: Crispus Passienus solebat dicere quorundam se iudicium malle quam beneficium, quorundam beneficium malle quam iudicium, et subiciebat exempla: "Malo," aiebat, "divi Augusti iudicium, malo Claudii beneficium." Ego vero nullius puto expetendum esse beneficium, cuius vile iudicium est.

The idea of discriminating approval which here underlies the word *iudicium* would fit admirably in the Tacitean passage.

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[7] Cf. Tacitus, *Ann.*, I, 36, 4; *Hist.*, I, 51, 7; *Livy*, XXII, 61, 3, XXIX, 19, 7 ff.; Lucan, IV, 161. And see also *Classical Journal* XXI, 456 ff.
[8] Tacitus, *Ann.*, II, 34, 1; IV, 41, 3.

THE POLITICAL ACTIVITIES AND THE NAME OF CRATESIPOLIS.

It is strange that the historians of the time have not told us anything about the origin and family of such a notable woman as Cratesipolis, wife of Alexander, the son of the Macedonian regent Polyperchon. Hoffmann [1] thinks that possibly even her true name has not been handed down and that the name Cratesipolis was perhaps given her because she put down the revolt of the Sicyonians after they killed her husband when he was marching at the head of his troops from the city.[2] I shall give reasons for holding that Cratesipolis was her true name after considering what we are told of her political activities.

It may be assumed that she belonged to some notable Macedonian family. Antigonus advised his son, Demetrius, " to wed where profit could be got," [3] and undoubtedly the shrewd and ambitious Polyperchon would follow the same policy in arranging the marriage of his son. Polyperchon came from Tymphaea— δράκων | Τυμφαῖος ἐν θοίναισιν Αἰθίκων πρόμος [4]—and was of the hard-drinking, hard-fighting, unscrupulous sort preferred by Philip. Nothing is known of his ancestry except the name of his father Simmias.[5] After the death of Alexander the Great, Polyperchon and his son got control of parts of the Peloponnesus, having garrisons in the coast-towns Patrae, Sicyon, and Corinth.[6]

Wherever Cratesipolis appears she is in action, and the few facts recorded about her give an astonishingly vivid picture. She had both beauty and brains, and Diodorus describes her in a sentence that shows that she was the perfect type of the Macedonian royal woman of the end of the fourth century B. C. in politics and warfare: ἦν δὲ περὶ αὐτὴν σύνεσις πραγματικὴ καὶ τόλμα μείζων ἢ κατὰ γυναῖκα, " She had a grasp of politics and a courage beyond that of women."

She appears for the first time in recorded history at the time

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[1] O. Hoffmann, Die Makedonen, p. 219.

[2] Diodorus, 19, 67.

[3] Plut. Dem. 14.   [5] Arrian, Anab. 2, 12, 2; 3, 11, 9.

[4] Lycophron, Alex. 802.   [6] Diod. 19, 35, 1; 54, 3.

of her husband's assassination in 315 B. C.[7]   After that event
she at once took command of the troops, whose love, Diodorus
says, she had won by her kindnesses to them, and put down the
revolt of the Sicyonians, who thought that they had only a
woman to deal with and so expected to get back their liberty at
once by force of arms.   She herself drew up her army against
them and defeated them.   She treated the conquered men with
great cruelty, showing in this, I suppose, the grasp on practical
politics for which she is praised by Diodorus, following the
example of the men of her family and race.   She crucified about
thirty of the foremost citizens, and made her control of Sicyon
secure, ruling the city with the powerful army which she had,
which, according to Diodorus, was strong enough to meet any
emergency.   In the following book, Diodorus describes the events
of the year 308 B. C.   Cratesipolis, who had maintained her
power for seven years, in that year, cheating her soldiers into the
belief that Ptolemy and his army were friends come from Sicyon,
put the citadel of Corinth in his possession.[8]   That ruler had
sailed from Egypt on the fashionable errand of "freeing the
states of Hellas," thinking, as Diodorus rather superfluously
remarks, that this policy would bring him some advantage.   He
soon made a compact with Cassander and sailed to Egypt, leaving
troops in Sicyon and in Corinth.   Why Cratesipolis gave him
the cities is not stated.   Niese thinks that she preferred to put
them in Ptolemy's hands because she was an enemy of Cassander.
However, her own husband had gone over to Cassander's side[9]
before his death, and Ptolemy and Cassander were not really
enemies.   As for the relations between Cratesipolis and her
father-in-law, Polyperchon, it is not clear whether they were at
this time friendly or hostile.   Antigonus and Demetrius were the
foes of both Ptolemy and Cassander, and Demetrius was making
great play with "freeing the Greeks" from Cassander and was
the rival of Ptolemy in that game.   Mahaffy[10] is likely to have
hit upon the true reason for Cratesipolis' conduct when he says
"the strong-minded widow . . . was looking out for a new

[7] Diod. 19, 67.

[8] Diod. 20, 37; B. Niese, Geschichte der griechischen und makedonischen Staaten, I, 309.

[9] Diod. 19, 64.

[10] J. P. Mahaffy, The Empire of the Ptolemies, 48.

matrimonial alliance." Polyaenus[11] tells of the manner in which she tricked her soldiers to get the army of Ptolemy admitted into Corinth. Ptolemy had been three times married and at least two of his wives were living at this time. The generation to which he belonged was already polygamous, although, as Tarn says,[12] on no very regular system. The cities and troops of Cratesipolis, added to her beauty and brains, made her worth even Ptolemy's consideration. But she lacked one thing that was of immense importance to all the Successors, as they all wished to be kings of Macedon—namely, the blood of Philip in her veins. And Philip's own daughter, own sister of Alexander the Great, was willing to marry Ptolemy. She was sought in marriage by all the Successors. I translate here the passage in Diodorus which tells of her attempt to go to Egypt to marry Ptolemy:[13]

"At the time of these events (i. e. the giving over of Sicyon and Corinth by Cratesipolis to Ptolemy, his compact with Cassander, and his sailing back to Egypt) Cleopatra in opposition to Antigonus decided to accept Ptolemy and started to leave Sardis to sail to him. She was sister of Alexander who conquered the Persians, daughter of Philip the son of Amyntas, and widow of Alexander who invaded Italy. Because of the splendor of her lineage Cassander and Lysimachus, Antigonus, and Ptolemy, in brief, all the most distinguished of the rulers after Alexander's death, were seeking her hand, each of them hoping that the throne of Macedon would be his wedding-gift and seeking alliance with the royal house with the desire to get the whole empire into his hands. The governor of Sardis, under orders from Antigonus, attempted to keep Cleopatra in Sardis; at a new command from his chief he had her murdered, using some women to carry out the deed. Antigonus did not wish to have his name mentioned in the murder, and so punished some of the women, whom he charged with the plot, and gave Cleopatra a magnificent and royal funeral. So this lady for whose hand all the princes of the world contended met this end before her marriage to Ptolemy could be consummated."

Perdiccas[14] had desired to marry her, but had been forced by prudential reasons to fulfill his engagement to marry Nicaea, the daughter of Antipater. He did this " temporarily," says Diodo-

[11] Polyaenus VIII, 58.

[12] W. W. Tarn, Antigonos Gonatas 47.

[13] Diod. 20, 37.

[14] Diod. 18, 23.

rus, having the alliance with Cleopatra in his mind as a step to
the throne, but his plans were frustrated by Antigonus, so often
a *deus ex machina,* who revealed to Antipater and Craterus the
purpose of Perdiccas and his own certainty that the marriage
with Cleopatra would make the regent king of Macedon and spell
their destruction.

Clearly the advantages of a marriage with the princess Cleo-
patra would turn the scale against Cratesipolis. A Ptolemy
would never hesitate to prefer the lady who might bring the
throne of Macedon as her dower to one whose prestige depended
on her beauty, her personal influence, and power of charming
her mercenaries. And when the fateful Antigonus intervened to
prevent the marriage with Cleopatra, Ptolemy did not turn back
to Cratesipolis. It may have been that the birth of his son
Ptolemy in this year kept him from giving a successor or a co-
wife to Berenice. Cratesipolis did not succeed in her design to
become a wife of Ptolemy and perhaps her next adventure means
that she turned to his enemy, Demetrius, the son of Antigonus,
who was never loth to add another princess to his household,
being as polygamous as Philip the Second. It is Plutarch [15] who
tells the story of the affair between the celebrated beauty and
the handsomest man of his time. Cratesipolis was then occupy-
ing Patrae with her troops and Demetrius, engaged in "freeing
the Greeks" from Cassander, had come to besiege Megara before
returning to complete the capture of Munychia. As the real
intention of Cratesipolis is left in doubt by the narrative of
Plutarch I translate the passage.

"Demetrius, after blockading Munychia with a palisade and
trench, sailed to attack Megara, which was garrisoned by Cas-
sander's men. He was informed that Polyperchon's son Alex-
ander's widow, who was staying at Patrae, a lady renowned for
her beauty (περιβόητον οὖσαν ἐπὶ κάλλει), would be glad to meet
him. He left his troops in the Megarid and went on, accom-
panied by a few light-armed men only, and these he left at a
distance and encamped alone, so that the lady should not be
seen coming to him. The enemy, seeing this, made a sudden
descent on him. He took fright and seizing a poor cloak to
cover him, fled away, narrowly escaping a most dishonorable cap-
ture because of his uncontrolled passions."   •

[15] Plut. Dem. 9.

It is not at all clear that Cratesipolis met Demetrius, as nothing is said of her escape. As it is not even stated that she intended to meet him, this may very well have been another ruse on her part and another bid for the favor of Ptolemy. With this story of Plutarch's, which pays tribute to her loveliness, as Diodorus does to her intellect, she disappears from recorded history.

I cannot agree with Hoffmann's suggestion that her name, appropriate as it is to her activities, was given her because of them. Such names as Stratonice, Berenice, Nicaea, Nicesipolis, were usual in the Macedonian and Thessalian families, given as birth-names to female children, who often when grown to womanhood took no part in battles such as Olympias, Eurydice, Cratesipolis and others waged. The names Cratesipolis and Nicesipolis both appear in inscriptions [16] from Larissa. Cratesipolis also occurs in the island of Syros. The most significant case of the name Cratesipolis in an inscription is from the island of Euboea in a great Macedonian chamber tomb,[17] which may date from the time of Philip, father of Alexander the Great. Vollmoeller writes of the date of the marble throne in one of the tombs, on which the name of Cratesipolis is twice carved:—

" It is obvious that the tomb is one erected by a Macedonian family. It is to be noted that the Macedonian influence on Euboea was lasting from Philip's time on and there is nothing to prevent dating the construction of the tomb and the first burials from before the time of Alexander. The extraordinary purity of the decoration of throne A is to be compared with the supports of the couches in the tomb of Alketas, brother of Perdiccas in Termessos, which may be dated with probable accuracy in the year 319 B. C." (Translated.)

It is on this beautifully decorated throne that the inscription is carved in finely executed letters—

> Kratesipolis
> Aristionos
> Kratesipolis
> Menelaou.

[16] IG IX 522, lines 23 and 28, 761 (Larissa); XII⁶ 586 (Syros); IG IX 745 (Larissa).
[17] Athenische Mitteilungen, 1901, 333 ff. K. G. Vollmoeller, Über zwei euböische Kammergräber mit Totenbetten.

The tomb was rich in gold ornaments, which have been stolen. One of them, a ring with a carved gem, is described by Furtwängler in his book on ancient gems,[18] and various objects from these tombs are in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. According to Furtwängler the tombs were used down to the end of the third century B. C.

In feudal states like Macedon and Thessaly names tend to be repeated in families; for example, Cleopatra, Phila, Berenice, Stratonice. It is not improbable that Cratesipolis, wife of Alexander, and daughter-in-law of Polyperchon, was related to the women of her name who were buried in this splendid tomb. Whatever her family was—and we must believe from her marriage and prestige that it was a great one in Macedonia—she is an arresting example of the Macedonian woman in politics. One may wish that this gay, lovely, and heroic lady found a happier end than that of Cleopatra, Philip's daughter, who took Ptolemy from her, and happier than that of the other women of Philip's family, who all perished by violence.

Cratesipolis had the virtues and faults of the women of her race. In the little that is recorded of her life, she shows a spirit of gallant adventure that endears her to the imagination. Perhaps if we knew more of her, we should like her less.

<div align="right">GRACE H. MACURDY.</div>

VASSAR COLLEGE.

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[18] Furtwängler, Antike Gemmen, I T. 66, 4; II 305 f.; III 448.

THE INSCRIPTION OF PHILEROS.

The question whether Carthage, after its refounding in 44 B. C. in accordance with the instructions of Julius Caesar, was dowered, like Cirta, with an extensive territory containing many attributed centers, was first discussed by Kornemann in Philologus, 1901. Barthel's dissertation, Greifswald, 1904, Zur Geschichte der römischen Städte in Afrika, has shown that many of the particular centers which Kornemann believed to be castella attached to Carthage were autonomous Caesarian foundations of Roman citizens and were mentioned in Pliny's list of African communities as oppida libera because there were on the same sites indigenous or Punic communities to which Augustus had granted local autonomy.[1] The possibility of a different type of attribution, of indigenous rather than Roman communities, has not been excluded. As the question has remained obscure and the evidence is meager and unsatisfying, the attempt to interpret the inscription upon which the argument chiefly depends must be made with some reserves.

The portion which concerns us of the text of the inscription of Phileros is as follows: M(arcus) Caelius M(arci) l(ibertus) Phileros, accens(us) T(iti) Sexti imp(eratoris) in Africa, Carthag(ine) aed(ilis), praef(ectus) i(ure) d(icundo) vectig(alibus) quinq(uennalibus) locand(is) in castell(is) LXXXIII, aedem Tell(uris) s(ua) p(ecunia) fecit, IIvir Clupiae bis, Formis August(alis).[2] . . .

This freedman of Marcus Caelius, perhaps of Marcus Caelius Rufus, whose family owned lands in Africa,[3] was aide-de-camp of Titus Sextius, governor of Africa Nova 43-2 B. C., who sup-

[1] Cf. also Gsell, *Hist. anc. de l'Afrique du Nord*, VIII, pp. 170 ff.

[2] *C. I. L.*, X, 6104.

[3] Cic., *Pro Cael.*, 73. Phileros became an Augustalis at Formiae; could the reading of *Pro Cael.* 5 (praesenti praetoriani, P., praestutiani, Σ) be *praesenti prae* (a dittography) *Formiani* and Formiae be the native town of Caelius Rufus? Note that a Caelius is mentioned by Cicero, *Ad. Att.*, XII, 5, 2; XIII, 3, 1, among the heirs of Scapula and that he was in Africa, *Ad Att.*, XIII, 33, 2, about June 1, 45 B. C. This Caelius, since he was personally unknown to Cicero, was probably not the banker.

ported the triumvirate and captured Africa Vetus from Cornificius and Laelius. As Sextius was again governor of this province in 41-0 B. C.[4] the approximate date of his aedileship was 39 B. C. He next became prefect for the leasing of the quinquennial vectigalia in the 83 castella. As prefect he was probably a substitute to do the duties of the regular duovir quinquennalis whose appointment was due by 39 B. C., five years after the founding of the colony. It is possible that Lepidus who was governor of Africa from 40 to 36 B. C. was honoured by the colony with the office of duovir quinquennalis and delegated his functions to Phileros. At this time also Phileros built the temple of Tellus at Carthage. As Tellus was probably one of the Cereres,[5] the era of whose priests, dated doubtless from a temple foundation, began by or before 39 B. C.,[6] we have an added indication of the date of his prefectship. At Clupea, a Caesarian foundation of 46 B. C., he was twice duovir, and in Italy at Formiae, the place of his later residence, became an Augustalis.

The problem presented by the inscription depends chiefly on the meaning of the word castellum, and involves the question of the relation of these 83 castella to Carthage and of both to the quinquennial vectigalia. In Africa castellum had two meanings, one of which is certainly applicable here, while the other can not be excluded. First, the castellum was an indigenous village, usually on a hill or some easily fortified site which provided a center and a place of refuge for the people who cultivated a small area of the surrounding country.[7] Under Carthaginian rule these villages were fixed, numerous, and often prosperous centers. The numerous " cities " which invaders such as Regulus[8] and Agathocles[9] found on Carthaginian territory were of

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[4] On the history of the province 44-27 B. C., see Gsell, *Hist. ano.*, VIII, pp. 183 ff.; Pallu de Lessert, *Fastes des provinces africaines*, pp. 53 ff.

[5] Carcopino, *Rev. hist.*, mai-juin, 1928, pp. 1 ff; cf. Gsell, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 268, 347-8.

[6] Cagnat et Merlin, *Inscriptions latines d'Afrique* (I. L. A.), 390.

[7] For discussions of castella see Gsell, *op. cit.*, V, pp. 240 ff.; Broughton, *Romanization of Africa Proconsularis*, pp. 176 ff.

[8] App., *Pun.*, 3.

[9] Diodorus, XX, 17, 6.

this character. Such also were many of the three hundred "cities" which were still to be found on the restricted territory of Carthage in 149 B. C.[10] The seventy *oppida castellaque* which Masinissa seized from Carthage in 174-3 B. C.[11] and the fifty "cities" which he seized soon afterwards in the region about Thugga were probably of the same type.[12] Sallust describes the communities of the same area as castella,[13] while Appian speaks of the πύργους καὶ φρούρια, numerous in the land, to which the Libyans fled for refuge while the Romans ravaged the country in 149 B. C.[14] The second possibility is that many of these castella were the central villas of estates with the population which dwelt about them. In the areas near Carthage the villas and gardens of Carthaginian landlords were probably quite numerous. But agriculture had been developed intensively in all portions of the Carthaginian territory, especially in the years following the Second Punic War, and probably under a system of tenantry.[15] In a land where the danger of raids, of desert marauders in the south, and of hill-men in the Bagradas valley, was not obviated until long after the Roman occupation, it was natural that the central villas of estates should be built as forts. Parallels may be found in the πύργοι of the Persian landlords of the Pergamene land, or certain villas of estates in Egypt or Palestine.[16]

Institutions corresponding to these two types of castellum

[10] Strabo, XVII, 3, 15.

[11] Livy, XLII, 23.

[12] App., *Pun.*, 68.

[13] *Jug.*, 54, 6; 87, 1.

[14] App., *Pun.*, 101.

[15] On Punic agriculture, see Gsell, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 1-75; culture of cereals was largely carried on by the indigenous people but rural slaves were also numerous. The fact that all stipendiary land in the province was classed as public land of the Roman people (Lex Agraria of 111 B. C., Broughton, *op. cit.*, p. 14), before the theory of *dominium in solo provinciali* was generally accepted (Frank, *J. R. S.*, 1927), indicates that previously the land had been considered the property either of the Carthaginian government or of individual Carthaginians, and was confiscated upon conquest; if so, the indigenous people were largely tenants of the Carthaginians.

[16] Rostovtzeff, *Anatolian Studies presented to Sir William Ramsay*, pp. 359 ff.; Preisigke, *Hermes*, 1919, pp. 423 ff.; E. Meyer, *Hermes*, 1920, p. 100.

appeared in Africa under the Roman régime. The indigenous people continued to live in their natural village units, on land probably assigned them by the original settlement of the province in 146 B. C., and guaranteed them by the Lex Agraria of 111 B. C. An inscription of Utica of about 57 B. C. indicates that these indigenous villages with their territories were known as pagi.[17] As it is probable that no autonomous municipal life was officially recognized in the Punic and indigenous communities until Octavian in 28 B. C. granted *libertas* to the Punic community which shared the site of Carthage with the Roman colonists,[18] these were all dependent castella at the time of the inscription of Phileros. On the other hand the Roman régime had fostered the growth of private estates in Africa, owned in large part by senatorial and equestrian landlords, probably also by descendants of the Gracchan and Marian colonists, and occupied and cultivated by indigenous people as in the Carthaginian days.[19] Even if the civil wars and the resultant confiscations had caused a great deal of disturbance, and some of the confiscated land had not yet in 40-38 B. C. passed into the hands of new owners and of recent colonists, the estates with their central villas and tenant population remained. Protection against raiders was necessary in most portions of the province.[20] It is probable that the defensive works and the tower so often present in the African farm mosaics were usually present in actuality.

An inscription of Uchi Maius of uncertain date may perhaps be restored thus: *M C]ae[l(ius) Ph]ileros | castellum divisit | inter colonos et | Uchitanos termin(um) | que constituit.*[21] Should this identification be true, Uchi Maius was termed a castellum and was perhaps one of the eighty-three. We should then have the term castellum applied to one of the pagi of

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[17] *I. L. A.*, 422; on the pagi, see Broughton, *op. cit.*, pp. 185 ff.

[18] Barthel, *op. cit.*, pp. 20 and 32.

[19] Cf. Gsell, *Hist. anc.*, VII, pp. 78 ff.

[20] Cf. *Bell. Afr.*, 67, 2; 65, 1; *C. I. L.*, VIII, 14603.

[21] *C. I. L.*, VIII, 26274; Merlin and Poinssot, Les inscriptions d'Uchi Maius, *Notes et documents*, II, pp. 65 ff., where a reference either to a water tower or to a division of land necessitated by the Severan colonial deduction is supposed; cf. *C. I. L.*, VIII, 26262. Such a division would also demand that all previous categories be made clear.

Roman citizens which date from the Marian settlement in the middle Bagradas area. These pagi, morever, did not become Roman towns until the time of the Severi, and throughout their history reveal a close connection with Carthage.[22] The Uchitani may be the descendants of the original Marian colonists, or they may be indigenous people living within the same area, more probably the former, since we have no evidence that there was at Uchi Maius as at Thugga a native civitas of the same name associated with the pagus of Roman citizens. It is possible that land had been confiscated here, that settlers perhaps from among the dispossessed in Italy were taking it up, and that Phileros marked a division between land of the new settlers or occupants and that of the descendants of the Marian colonists. Such a settlement would be a part of the agricultural immigration into Africa during and immediately· after the period of the civil wars,[23] and the addition of such a settlement to Uchi Maius in some recognized form under Octavian would account for the inclusion of the town in Pliny's list of oppida civium Romanorum. Further evidence is necessary to any valid conclusion.

All provincial land with the exception of that granted to colonists in Quiritary right was subject to stipendium or vectigal. It is possible that in the processes of confiscation, re-sale and re-assignment which went on in Africa some of the earlier distinctions were in particular cases forgotten. There can be no question however of the land which was assigned to the stipendiary people, or of that which was ager privatus vectigalisque. The right of collecting the vectigalia was often let for five-year periods [24] to mancipes. These appear now as the representatives of the companies of publicans, now as individual, personal lessees.[25] A passage in the Agrimensores states that the mancipes themselves relet the collection of the revenues *per centurias* and *proximis quibusque possessoribus.*[26] How far this system was applied in Africa is problematical. It seems probable, however, that, as in Sicily, the right of collection was

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[22] Broughton, *op. cit.*, pp. 32 ff.; 58 ff.

[23] *Ib.*, pp. 78 ff.

[24] *Corp. Agrimen.*, ed. Thulin, p. 79.

[25] Steinwenter, *Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll*, XIV[1], p. 992, art.. Manceps; cf. Rostovtzeff, *Gesch. d. Staatspacht*, pp. 397, 416.

[26] *Corp. Agrimen.*, l. c.

let not in Rome but in the province itself, since the stipendiarii
of the inscription of Utica address the provincial quaestor, and
the *mancup(es) stipend(iorum) ex Africa* of an inscription of
the time of Augustus do the same.[27]   Since mancupes is plural
and since Cicero links Sicily and Africa together in opposition
to the system of the farming of the taxes for the whole prov-
ince of Asia it is also probable that, like the city territories of
Sicily, individual unitary areas in Africa, probably the pagi or
castella, were considered as separate divisions and let to indi-
vidual lessees.[28]   When at a later time castella and pagi were
given autonomy and became civitates the local council became
responsible for the payment of the stipendium or vectigal.[29]
Payments due from estates composed of ager privatus vectigalis-
que would be collected also in connection with these unitary
areas.   ·

The mancipes of the inscription cited made their dedication
to the provincial quaestor.   The stipendiary pagi of the inscrip-
tion of Utica had done the same.   Phileros however, since he
ranks his prefecture in a municipal cursus honorum, appears to
have acted as an official of Carthage.   If Carthage were dowered
with an extensive territory the native villages and other units
within that area would then be responsible to the officials of the
town while any units outside of that area would still depend on
the provincial quaestor.   It is unlikely however that the mode
of collection of the vectigalia would be changed.   It is probable
that the Caesarian organization of Carthage followed in some
measure the extensive plan of the Gracchan survey, and perhaps
with some reminiscence of the large unitary areas in Gaul made
the new colony administratively and financially responsible for
a considerable area of the province.   Appian's statement that
people from the neighbourhood were included in the colony,[30]
and the evident close attachment to Carthage of the Roman
pagi of the middle Bagradas valley indicate that the descendants
of the Gracchan and the Marian colonists were probably included
in the colony at its foundation.[31]   The territory of Carthage

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[27] *I. L. A.*, 422; *C. I. L.*, VI, 31713.

[28] See Gsell, *op. cit.*, VII, p. 52; Cic., *Verrines*, II, 3, 6, 12.

[29] Apul., *Apol.*, 101, 17; Abbott and Johnson, *Munic. Admin.*, p. 132;
Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, pp. 415 ff.

[30] App., *Pun.*, 136.   [31] Broughton, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

therefore in 39 B. C. may have extended beyond Thugga. Within this territory the native villages and the private estates were probably administered from Carthage. Phileros as prefect had the duty of letting in eighty-three centers of whichever kind within the control of Carthage the contracts for the local collection of revenues to the persons who assessed them upon the particular individuals, estates, and plots of land within these unitary areas. The fact that he was later duovir at Clupea does not bear upon the problem, since Clupea was a Caesarian foundation previous to Carthage.

The extension of local autonomy under Augustus to the indigenous communities broke up this attribution to Carthage. Whatever the relation of the pagus of Roman citizens at Thugga continued to be, the indigenous civitas, as Barthel has pointed out, once it was given status as a civitas, was not involved. In the central massif of Tunisia where the native communities developed much later than in the Bagradas valley, an inscription of 158 A. D. at Gsar bou Fatha, which mentions a prefect of the LXII c[astella ?] and one of the previous year at Mactar which mentions a prefecture indicate that the system of governing undeveloped native villages in groups under a prefect whether municipal or military remained almost until the time of Marcus Aurelius.[32]

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HERMES LXIII (1928).

Zum Phrixos des Euripides (1-14). W. Schadewaldt inter-
prets a papyrus fragment (Saec. II-III A. D.), to which A.
Vogliano had called his attention (cf. Riv. Fil. N. S. 4, 1926).
He shows that its eighteen lines represent a passage from a
Phrixus tragedy (cf. Ovid Fast. 3, 853 ff.) and argues on the
basis of Hyginus fab. 2, etc., that it belonged to the Phrixus of
Euripides.

Mercur-Augustus und Horaz C. I 2 (15-33). Kenneth Scott
finds that in recent years, beginning with Mommsen, many
scholars, especially Déonna (Rev. Arch. sér. V, II (1920) 187-8,
have mistakenly found evidence in inscriptions, statuettes and
coins to show that Augustus in his lifetime was identified with
the god Mercury. The "principium et fons" of all of these
attempts was the identification made by Horace in C. I 2, 41 ff.
Now, however, an inscription from Cos, to which Dr. Bicker-
mann called Scott's attention, presents this identification clearly.
Imp. Caesari Divi f. Aug. Mercurio scrutarei. Αὐτοκράτορι
Καίσαρι Θεοῦ υἱῶι Σεβαστῶι Ἑρμῆι γρυτοπώλαι Προστατοῦντος Διο-
γένους τοῦ Πολυχάρους φιλοκαίσαρος. In Egypt the Ptolemies had
long been worshipped as Hermes the god of commerce. While
Horace may have given free rein to his fancy, yet Oriental
influence is possible.

Die heronische Frage (34-47). Ingeborg Hammer-Jensen
justifies her characterization of Heron of Alexandria and his
later date against E. Hoppe, who ranks him as a great genius
and would place him as early as c. 150-100 B. C. (cf. A. J. P.
49, 385). She says (p. 43) : "Das Resultat einer philologischen
Untersuchung der Pneumatik (N. Jahrb. 1910, p. 413 ff.), dasz
Heron kein gelehrter, allseitiger Forscher und genialer Erfinder,
sondern belesener, praktischer Mechaniker mit einem begrenzten
Wissen war, hat die Hoppesche Kritik nicht erschüttert. Die
kompilatorische Art der heronischen Schriften deutet auf das
Zeitalter des Ptolemaios oder des Pappos; zu dieser späten Zeit
paszt auch die Sprache." Hoppe cites as positive proof of
Heron's early date, the fact that in his metrics Heron uses the
Egyptian method of measuring angles, but substitutes in his
dioptrics the Babylonic method, which Hipparchus had intro-
duced 133 B. C.; from this he concludes that Heron wrote the
former books before 133 B. C., the latter after that date. She
answers this by saying: Wir, die eine andere Auffassung von
Heron haben, würden sagen, dasz Heron verschiedene Quellen
abgeschrieben hat, ganz wie wenn er Pneum. I 32. II 17. 18 das
αὐλός nennt was in dem übrigen Buch σωλήν heiszt.

Zum Germanicus-Papyrus (48-65). Ulrich Wilcken takes exception to several points made by Conrad Cichorius (" Römische Studien " (1922) p. 375-388) in his treatment of this papyrus (cf. Sitzungsb. Pr. Akad. d. Wiss. (1911) XXXVIII p. 794 ff.). That Germanicus had been greeted as σωτήρ and εὐεργέτης by the Alexandrians is evident from the papyrus, but there is no reason to assume, with Cichorius, that he and his wife were furthermore addressed as Augustus and Augusta. The above laudations were no doubt due to Germanicus' opening of the Alexandrian granaries during a famine (cf. Tac. ann. II 59, Joseph. c. Ap. II § 63, Suet. Tib. 52) ; but that he distributed the grain destined for Rome and so caused a famine there at the end of the year 19 A. D. cannot be true. For it can be shown that Germanicus relieved the distress in Alexandria before the harvest of the year 19 A. D. Moreover Wilcken, at some length, makes it probable that Germanicus did not release the grain destined for the Roman people at all, but that which was reserved for the city of Alexandria, which undoubtedly was stored in a separate granary. That the custom of the Egyptians of storing their surplus grain was very old is shown by the Joseph legend (Gen. 41, 33 ff.). Wilcken shows how this custom was observed by the Ptolemies.

Zu Catull C. 55 und 58ᵃ (66-80). K. Barwick analyses and interprets these poems so as to show that Catullus composed the ten verses of 58ᵃ to take the place of verses 3-12 in 55; but as he had already included 55 in a publication of his poems, some friend or other finding, after Catullus' death, 58ᵃ and probably other unpublished poems, included these verses in an enlarged edition.

Odyssee-Probleme (81-92). E. Bethe interprets the scholion to ψ 296: τοῦτο τέλος τῆς 'Οδυσσείας φησὶν 'Αρίσταρχος καὶ 'Αριστοφάνης to mean that the reuniting of Odysseus and Penelope was the goal, not the end of the poem, in opposition to v. Wilamowitz (Ilias und Homer p. 12, and Heimkehr des Odysseus p. 73) and Ed. Schwartz (Die Odyssee (1924) p. 151). He belittles Schwartz's argument that Ap. Rhodius began the last verse of his Argonautica with ἀσπασίως in order to remind his learned readers of the ἀσπάσιοι in ψ 296, which Schwartz contends was the last verse of the genuine Odyssey (cf. *A. J. P.* 40, 217). He says there is no evidence to show that since the V century there was any other version of the Odyssey or Iliad than the ones that have been transmitted to us. On the other hand Bethe thinks we should strive to discover the original plot of the Odyssey, and to further this end he discusses the three passages that tell of Penelope's trick of unravelling the web: β 93-110 ; τ 139-156 ; ω 129-146, giving plausible reasons to show that the β passage is the original. This leads to his argument

that there existed originally .an Odyssey that knew nothing of the suitors, and that τ 139-156 had been interpolated into a conversation between Odysseus and Penelope (cf. τ 102 ff.) that led to the recognition of Odysseus in the famous foot-washing scene and so to the goal of the original Homecoming of Odysseus (cf. v. Wilamowitz Hom. Untersuchungen 53 ff. and G. Finsler Homer II p. 403 ff.).

Zu Julius Valerius (93-99). W. Morel publishes critical notes to the text of the Res gestae Alexandri Macedonis; the last edition by B. Kübler, Leipzig 1888 (cf. Christ-Schmid Gr. Lit.[5] II 645 ff.).

Miszellen: K. Kalbfleisch (100-103) publishes a papyrus fragment (Saec. II or III A. D.), discovered in the Faium (1926), which contains ten Menander maxims, six of them new. All begin with ω, which indicates an alphabetical arrangement showing that alphabetical lists of Menander maxims that appear in medieval MSS were made as early as the II or III century A. D., if not earlier.—H. v. Arnim (103-107) accepts v. Wilamowitz' reading ⟨N⟩ηλεῖ in Magna Moralia 1205 a 17, also his belief that this was the Neleus of Scepsis to whom Theophrastus left his library (cf. *A. J. P.* 49, 389); but he does not regard the reference to grammar as a proof of the late origin of the M. M.; for Neleus had been a pupil of Aristotle, and the grammar that he knew was merely the elementary knowledge, necessary for one attending Aristotle's lectures (cf. Rh. M. N. F. 76).— K. Reinhardt (107-110) interprets Timaeus' defense of Pythagoras (Schol. Eur. Hec. 133) to show that Heraclitus was the one who called Pythagoras the κοπίδων ἀρχηγός, the father of bluff (cf. Diels Vorsokr., Heracl. 81, and Hermes 62, 277).—J. Sykutris (110-111) publishes an epitaph commemorating an Homeric scholar, found at Citium (Larnaka) of Cyprus.—Th. Schneider (111-112) shows that the citation in the Naassenian sermon ch. 20: φωνὴν μὲν αὐτοῦ ἠκούσαμεν, εἶδος δὲ αὐτοῦ οὐχ ἑωράκαμεν depends on Deut. 4, 12, and discusses the mystic thought that concerned itself with the reception of the Ten Commandments at Mt. Sinai.

Die Lex Vatinia de Imperio Caesaris (113-137). M. Gelzer produces detailed evidence, especially from the letters of Cicero, to prove in opposition to F. B. Marsh (Class. Journ. 22 (1927) 504 ff.) that the date of Vatinius' plebiscite, which assigned to Caesar .both Gallia citerior and Illyricum for five years was not Feb. 28 but probably the month of June 59 B. C. Hence Caesar's agrarian laws preceded this act as Plutarch (Cato minor) and other historians show. Further he considers the date of the Calendae Martiae mentioned in the Lex Vatinia (Cic. prov. cons. 36, 37) is March 1, 54 B. C., as generally accepted; there is no reason to follow Laqueur in changing this

date to March 1, 55 B. C. Caesar's subsequent political activities are discussed, and the value of Gallia citerior for his plans, and the manner in which his influence was established there is set forth.

Der aristotelische Protreptikos und die entwicklungsgeschichtliche Betrachtung der aristotelischen Ethik (138-164). H. G. Gadamer subjects to a respectful, but searching criticism Jaeger's thesis, summarized in his "Aristoteles" (p. 248): "Die Entwickelungsreihe Philebos, Protreptikos, Eudemische Ethik, Nikomachische Ethik ist von unwiderleglicher geschichtlicher Logik." This thesis involves the question whether the fragments of Aristotle's Protrepticus (discovered in the Protrepticus of Iamblichus) reveal a Platonic stage in Aristotle's doctrine of Ethics, and that the Eud. Eth. show a transitional stage leading to the Nicomachean Ethics. Jaeger points out that the term φρόνησις as used in the Protrepticus is equivalent to νοῦς in Plato's sense, implying his theory of ideas, whereas in the Nic. Eth. it is sharply distinguished from σοφία and νοῦς; but, says Gadamer, the identification of φρόνησις with νοῦς was common among poets and philosophers before Plato. Jaeger further finds numerous references to the Protrepticus in book I of the Eud. Eth., and tries to show that it constitutes an intermediate stage between the Protrept. and Nic. Eth., but Gadamer, while admitting that J. has given support to recent assertions of the genuineness of the Eud. Eth., thinks that this is still open to question. As regards allusions to Plato's theory of ideas in the above works, Gadamer holds that, in spite of these references, we do not know that Aristotle had ever accepted this doctrine. There are many points made in the article that deserve close study.

Über die Einleitung der Historien Sallusts (165-192). F. Klingner throws light on the picture that Sallust drew of Roman history in the introduction to his five books of *Historiae*. This is made possible by the longer extracts found in Augustine's De Civ. Dei. In order to gain an intelligible sequence, he makes some changes in the order of the fragments from that in Maurenbrecher's edition. The pessimistic attitude of Sallust is shown in the Augustinian extracts, used by A. in his defense of the Christians, as well as in the *Catiline* and *Jugurtha*. The great turning point in Roman history is represented by Sallust to have been the destruction of Carthage in 146 B. C. That Scipio Nasica had warred against removing the wholesome dread of their enemy, and an account of the dire results following the destruction of Carthage was recorded by Posidonius (cf. Diod. 34, 33; 38, 2: also Polybius VI, 57), ideas that evidently were adopted by Sallust. Klingner makes it probable that Sallust's judgment of Roman history from the standpoint of morality

was partly due to Posidonius, partly to Cato; but, whereas Posidonius, an adherent of the aristocracy, represented Sulla as rehabilitating the Roman state, Sallust pictured him in the darkest colors. According to him the downward movement continued; his outlook was completely pessimistic with no goal of betterment in sight.

Zur Überlieferung des Chariton-Romanes (193-224). F. Zimmermann finds on testing the Florentine MS, which contains this romance, with the Oxyrhynchus papyrus 1019 (Saec. II-III), that in fourteen passages the papyrus has the better reading, but in eleven passages the MS text is preferable. Similarly a comparison of the MS with the Faium papyrus (Saec. II) shows fourteen better readings in the papyrus to the eight of the MS.

Miszellen: A. Wilhelm (225-231) emends an inscription from Kallatis published by O. Tafrali in Rev. arch. 1925, I, p. 265 and emended by B. Haussoullier in the same periodical 1925, II, p. 64, basing his emendations on τάχιον (1. 23) in the sense of earlier, for which meaning he cites a number of passages. He also discusses an Abderite decree BCH 37, 125 ff.—H. Kruse (231-236) criticizes recent editions of Aristophanes' Clouds for their assignments of the last lines. He gives 1495-6; 1499-1501; 1503 to Xanthias and 1505 to Chaerephon, the favorite pupil of Socrates.—U. Wilcken (236-238) emends Plut. Solon ch. 23: Εἰς μέν γε τὰ τιμήματα τῶν ⟨οὐσιῶν⟩ λογίζεται (Solon) πρόβατον καὶ δραχμὴν ἀντὶ μεδίμνου, and interprets: " für die Schatzungs- stufen oder -klassen der Vermögen rechnet Solon ein Schaf und eine Drachme statt eines Medimnos." This would show on what basis sheepraisers and industrialists or merchants were classified (cf. Busolt, II², 268 A. 1.).—Th. Reinach (238-240) emends Plut. Solon 15 where Androtion states: Ἑκατὸν γὰρ ἐποίησε δραχμῶν τὴν μνᾶν πρότερον ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ τριῶν οὖσαν to read ἑβδομήκοντ' ἄγουσαν. This emendation is made plausible by means of capital letters. It removes the conflict with Arist. Polit. 10.—A. Schulten (240) changes milites to velites in Festus p. 238 M., as only the velites used the round shield.

Der demosthenische Epitaphios (241-258). Joh. Sykutris defends Demosthenes' authorship of this speech, the genuineness of which has been denied from the time of Dionys. of Hal. (De Dem. vi 1095 R). It is true, the speech is devoid of the λέξις ἀγωνιστική; but this may be due to Dem. adopting here a traditional epideictic style for which he was not fitted. We know that he delivered such an oration after the battle of Chaeronea 338 B. C. (Dem. 18, 285 ff.; Aesch: 3, 152; Plut. Dem. 21), and as far as matter and orderly arrangement are concerned, together with the political atmosphere of the time that it reveals, there is no reason to question its appearance

under his name. Further there is no exaggerated declamatory effort as would be natural in an imitation. Finally the test of language, which, strangely, has been neglected, shows its Demosthenean character; especially noticeable is the avoidance of short syllables, showing a ratio of 6.64% ; the third Philippic has 6.32% (cf. *A. J. P.* 45, 285).

Zitate aus Demosthenes' Epitaphios bei Lykurgos (258-260). P. Maas adds a " Nachtrag " to the above article, showing in parallel columns that Lycurg. adv. Leocr. 48-50 is dependent on the above Epitaphius (4, 19, 23, 24, 10, 23).

Die Gliederung der Narratio in der rhetorischen Theorie und ihre Bedeutung für die Geschichte des antiken Romans (261-287). K. Barwick passes in review a large number of Greek and Roman classifications of narrative forms and modern interpretations of the same. He makes a plausible argument to show that the classification in Cic. [De inv.] I 27 and Auct. ad Her. I 12 f. is due to their common Latin source, who had misunderstood a two-fold Greek classification: κατὰ πράγματα in μῦθος, ἱστορία, πλάσμα and again κατὰ πρόσωπα in ἀφηγηματικά, δραματικά, μικτά. The first of these classifications appears in the above works as: fabula, historia, argumentum; but the second, n. in personis posita, is left without subdivision and therefore has been taken to stand for a narrative in dramatic form. This has led to the mistaken belief that exercises in the invention of stories were held in the Roman rhetorical schools, from which ancient Romance originated. Barwick finds that there is no evidence for this, and cites especially Theon's chapter περὶ διηγήματος p. 78-96. It is clear, however, that the terms argumentum, πλάσμα, δ. πλασματικόν and later also δ. δραματικόν and the like were used to designate the ancient Romance (cf. Rohde, Gr. Roman³, p. 376 f.).

Iliturgi (288-301). A. Schulten gives an account of place names in Spain and their frequent recurrence, which has been a source of confusion. There were two places named Iliturgi, one in Andalusia, the other in Catalonia not far from the river Ebro. It is in the latter place where Livy should have located the events described in XXIII, 49; XXIV, 41; XXVI, 17; XXXIV, 10; the defile and Lapides atri mentioned in XXVI 17 have actually been identified. Contrary to reason Livy has referred all these events to the remote Andalusian Iliturgi. Likewise the siege and capture of the place that Livy XXVIII is believed to be the Andalusian Iliturgi was forci (modern Lorca) situated on a hill difficult of approach, whereas the Andalusian Iliturgi was situated in a plain.

Ein neues Altersgedicht des Kallimachos (302-341) Rudolf Pfeiffer restores to a large extent the text of a Callimachus

poem (Saec. II A. D.), discovered 1906, and published as no.
2079 by A. S. Hunt in the XVII vol. of the Oxyrhynchus
papyri. It was of all the Cal. poems the one most read. Of
the forty fragmentary verses, eighteen were known wholly or
in part through direct citations, four, perhaps five, more may
be restored from imitations, and most of the verses can be
shown to have been familiar to late Greek, and Roman poets.
The reason for their popularity is evident. Callimachus repels
the charges of his critics (Apollonius Rhodius may not have been
the only one) by maintaining with poetical fancies, for which
Homer, Hesiod, Pindar and Euripides can be cited, that not
the length of a poem, not rodomontade, but artistic finish deter-
mines the merit of a poem. Apollo advised him, when he
began to write, not to follow the broad beaten track, but to
choose his own path, even if it be narrower. The crisp verses
full of poetical thought and humor show their influence in the
Anth. Pal., Lucretius, Vergil, Horace, Propertius etc. Of
especial interest are the numerous citations in metricians and
grammarians, as they indicate that these verses must have headed
a collection of Cal. poems, or more likely a new edition of the
Aitia, which he published in his old age, as seems probable from
v. 6 and the general tenor of the poem. His mention of Mim-
nermus as γλυκύς is interesting, and that the third verse of the
Batrachomyomachia is an imitation of verses 21/2 comes as a
surprise.

Ein Juvenalkodex des 11. Jahrhunderts in beneventanischer
Schrift und seine Einordnung in die handschriftliche Über-
lieferung (342-363). U. Knoche identifies the codex Vaticanus
latinus 3286, Saec. XI as the MS of which Angelo Poliziano
(opera Basiliae 1553 p. 263) says: cuius mihi potestatem le-
gendi fecit Franciscus Gaddius Florentinus. A legend on the
first page shows that before Gaddius Giovanni Aurispa, the
famous collector of MSS (c. 1369-1460), owned it. The Bene-
ventine hand (Poliziano l. c. calls it Langobardic) harmonizes
with the fact that Aurispa spent most of his life in southern
Italy. The codex contains the first ten satires of Juvenal;
apparently nothing more followed. It has excellent interlinear
glosses and a meagre selection of marginal scholia from the
corpus of ω-scholia. In general it belongs to the ω class so far
as the ancient readings of this class differ from PBC Ar.; but
frequently it is in agreement with this class, which Knoche
calls Π. He assumes that this mixture goes back to an archetype
Φ (c. 400), which he calls a "Variantenkodex." Copies of this
MS varied as text or variants were followed by the different
copyists, which process he visualizes in a diagram.

Miszellen: Ad. Wilhelm (364-366) adds a 'Nachtrag' to his
article on the decree of the thiasites of Callatis (p. 225 f.); for

which the editors subjoin, with apologies, a list of corrections.—
Ad. Schulten (366-368) defends his recognizing, in Sallust's
hist. III 6, a description of the ancient Emporion (Roman
Emporiae) against Hauler (Wiener Studien 44, 189 ff.), who
on palaeographic grounds would read in the fragmentary pas-
sage De[anium], which he identifies with Dianium, a base of
operations of Sertorius.—G. Klaffenbach (368) emends δια-
γεινώσκειν κ[αθ]ιστάναι to δ. κ[αὶ] ἱστάναι in the Augustus in-
scription from Cyrene (Phil. Wochenschr. 1927, 1193 ff. and
1226 ff.).

Lesefrüchte (369-390). U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff con-
tinues his miscellanies with numbers CCXXXI-CCXLVIII:
CCXXXI deals with Hesiod's Titanomachy 617 ff. with which
vv. 139-154 should be associated; v. 138 was once joined to 155.
CCXXXII illustrates the meaning of στοχάζηι in Soph. Antig.
241 with Pollux 5, 36: καλεῖται τῶν ἀρκύων ἡ στίχη στοῖχος . . .
στοχασμός and translates " du stellst deine Netze gut und um-
wallest rings die Sache. [Why not cite Suidas: στοιχίζω: τὸ
περικυκλῶ τὴν πόλιν, as it eliminates the nets?] Various inter-
pretations and emendations follow. Dio Chrysost. orat. XII 33
"Die schönste Rede zu der man immer gern zurück kehrt"
gives him occasion to discuss the Eleusinian mysteries. Aes-
chylus dealt with a local myth in his Eleusinians. There is
no evidence that he included the Eleusinian gods. The state-
ment that the priests adopted the dress of his actors, should
not be reversed [cf. A. Müller Gr. Bühnenalt. p. 229, 5].
CCXLVI. A remarkable epitaph from the Crimea shows bor-
rowings from Callimachus, Theocritus and Homer. CCXLVII.
Priscian Gram. III 406 has preserved the proper spelling πεῖ,
χείλια. The sound of long ε resembled ει, hence in Ionia ξένος
was changed to ξεῖνος. CCXLVIII. corrections to his edition
of Hesiod's Erga.

ΤΥΠΟΣ und ΠΑΡΑΔΕΙΓΜΑ (391-414). A. von Blumenthal
assumes that τύπος is not derived from τύπτω, but originally
meant ' Hohlform,' and traces its various meanings in literature.
He believes that the meaning ' relief ' is more likely than
statue-model in the Timotheus inscription of Epidaurus (cf.
Arch. Jahrb. 1925, 206 and 1926, 82). Παράδειγμα was used to
signify models of various kinds.

Des Pelops und Iamos Gebet bei Pindar (415-429). Joh.
Th. Kakridis discusses the development of the Pelops-Oenomaus
legend, particularly Pindar's version in Ol. 1. The original
story was a bride-stealing myth located in Lesbos, in which
winged horses given by Poseidon, or possibly by some other god,
enabled Pelops to escape with Hippodameia over the sea. This
was changed to a race in which Myrtilus caused Oenomaus'
chariot to break down. Pindar, objecting to his hero's winning

by means of a trick, introduced Pelops' prayer to Poseidon, who responds with the gift of winged horses. K. insists that this version, including the love motif (v. 40 ff. and 75 ff.), was the invention of Pindar who was probably unfamiliar with the original story. Pindar's familiarity with the epic story of Apollo's helping Admetus to win a bride (cf. Pind. P. III, Wilam. Isyllos 57 ff.) would suggest the introduction of Poseidon. In the prayer of Pelops Ol. I 67 ff. are introduced, probably unconsciously, features that are peculiar to magic rites: proximity to, or contact with the god's element, solitude, night, which recur in the prayer of Iamus Ol. VI 57 ff. But we should not say that Iamus' prayer is a reproduction from Ol. 1; for Pindar followed the Ἰάμου γοναί of his source, yet it is evident that he avoided verbal agreement. The mere rudiments of an earlier version, where Poseidon was the father of Iamus, are retained in this prayer in which, because of a new genealogy, Poseidon appears as a grandfather, who is of no use alongside of Apollo the father.

Das römische Heer und seine Generale nach Ammianus Marcellinus (430-456). E. v. Nischer determines the ranking of the Roman military commanders as they appear in Am. Marc. (353-378 A. D.), giving brief accounts of their appointments and activities, and compares their titles in Ammianus with the later titles of the Notitia dignitatum.

Untersuchungen zur Topik des Aristoteles (457-479). P. Gohlke analyses the Topica with results that are in substantial agreement with H. Maier " Syllogistik des Aristoteles " (1900), namely that Top. II-VII were written before I, VIII. He finds moreover that books II-VII are composed of originally separate layers, and are interspersed with later additions. A summary at the end of the article, chronologically arranged, shows the gradual growth of the Topica, with the Categories, which he now accepts as genuine, placed at the beginning. G. shows the influence of the Academy on Aristotle, his wavering attitude toward the 'Ideas,' and the gradual growth of his scientific terminology.

Miszellen: A Stein (480-481) cites a London papyrus, dated 246 A. D., in which Marcius Salutaris is mentioned; this furnishes a term. post quem for the grammarian C. Julius Romanus who cites M. S. in his ἀφορμαί. He may have been a contemporary.—A. Körte (481-484) emends Pliny's letter X 96, 10 to read: passimque venire victimarum ⟨carnem⟩, cuius adhuc rarissimus emptor inveniebatur. In § 9 he approves Gronov's emendation corripi for corrigi.—Fr. Bräuninger (484-485) finds that the Egyptian festival called χαρμόσυνα in Plut. de Iside et Osiride c. 29 celebrated the revival of the murdered Osiris (cf. Firmicus Maternus De err. prof. rel. 2, 3), and sug-

gests that it is identical with the Hilaria, as the last day of the Isis festival at Rome was called. Hence Hesych.: χαρμόσυνα ἑορταὶ ᾿Αθήνησιν probably refers to an Isis festival at Athens.

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GLOTTA, XVII (1929), 3-4.

Pp. 161-190. Hugo Schütz, Die Konjunktiv- und Futur-formen auf *-ero -erim* im Lateinischen, comes to the conclusion that " an unprejudiced examination of the use of the forms in -ero -erim shows that between the perfect subjunctive and the future perfect indicative there was originally neither a modal nor a temporal distinction, but the two forms were related to each other as were the present subjunctive and the future indicative."

He gives and examines examples of forms in -erim with future meaning in main clauses (Pl. Truc. 629 ceperim; etc.) and in subordinate clauses (Bac. 1102 perdiderim; etc.), and conversely of forms in -ero with subjunctive meaning (Cas. 869 fecero; etc.). He then takes up the problem of the perfect subjunctive in prohibitions, and rejects the temporal aspect explanation (cf. Hale, *I. F.,* XXXI, 272); he shows that prohibitions are emphatic ideas, and supports the view that the perfect is essentially a form expressing emphasis (cf. Elmer, *A. J. P.,* XV; Bréal, *M. S. L.,* 1900, 277), and therefore more appropriate to prohibitions than the present tense; he instances similar emphatic uses of the perfect infinitive (Most. 349) and of the perfect participle (Asin. 685).

Cicero used videro when attention to the matter was to be postponed, as is shown by a temporal adverb or by a qualifying clause, whereas videbo and videam indicated immediate attention. In the second and third persons no temporal adverb or the like was needed to show postponement, since action was passed over to another individual. Catullus 67.20 attigerit is a correct reading; the subjunctive is concessive, showing the easy transition to the future perfect of probability, though the addition of prior in this passage shows that it refers to past time.

Forms in -ero -erim may also have at the same time both the subjunctive and the future meaning (Livy praef. 1 perscrip-serim; Cic. Att., IV 6. 3 scripsero; etc.), and it is therefore not from failure to be attracted to the mood of the subjunctive on which it depends, that we use Cic. Verr. II. 2. 172 cri-comprobatum, but this form is used in its subjunctive value; similarly Cic. Att. III. 21 putabis depends upon a subjunctive and is to be interpreted in the same way. The so-called " con-ditional " used in the protasis of general future conditions is

merely a perfect subjunctive or future perfect used in the same double value (cf. Cas. 130 fueris; etc.).

Pp. 191-305. Literaturbericht für das Jahr 1926. Paul Kretschmer und Paula Wahrmann, Griechisch (pp. 191-271). Wilhelm Kroll, Lateinisch (pp. 271-291). E. Vetter, Etruskisch (pp. 291-305).

Pp. 306-322. Indices, von Stefan Weinstock.

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REVIEWS.

Sexti Properti quae supersunt opera edidit novoque adparatu critico instruxit OLIFFE LEGH RICHMOND. *Cantabrigiae e typis academicis* MCMXXVIII. 25 sh.

If we may trust the traditional text, Propertius composes with little attention to logic, loves abrupt beginnings and violent transitions, and employs striking — sometimes very obscure — imagery together with a syntax that seems at times almost un-Latin. These and other difficulties are enhanced by the fact that the manuscripts not infrequently fail to mark, or mark wrongly, the points of division between the elegies. To scholars of a certain type it has always been inconceivable that a poet of Rome's great period could have written in the manner which the manuscripts attest. They have therefore suspected the traditional text at almost every point and have attempted by conjecture, by transposition, by the assumption of lacunae—by all the devices known to the critic—to recast the poems in a form which would not so violently outrage their conception of what a classical poet ought to have written and must have written.

To this group of scholars Mr. Richmond belongs. His attitude and his methods are essentially the same as theirs, but he is more systematic because he is applying a theory which, to his mind, accounts for a very large number of the errors which he finds in the text. For some twenty-five years he has been publishing occasional articles on various aspects of his subject and so came to formulate the theory. In this beautifully printed volume he restates his theory and prints the text in conformity with it.

The theory is in brief that sometime between the fourth and the sixth centuries there was an 'ancestor manuscript', written in uncials or rustic capitals, each page of which began with an illuminated letter and contained (with remarkable regularity!)

exactly sixteen lines of text. This manuscript suffered much damage: many leaves became loosened and interchanged, others were lost, and portions became illegible. An 'editor' arranged the remnants of this 'uncial ancestor' as best he could and produced a copy which became the more immediate source of our extant manuscripts. Thus even before our archetype was written the text was full of gaps, the order was often wrong, and there were many other errors. Mr. Richmond's text represents an attempt to restore the pagination of the lost uncial ancestor.

The external appearance of this text is amazing. Not to mention smaller lacunae more than forty whole pages are left blank. Altogether we have lost between 900 and 1,000 lines, according to Mr. Richmond, of the poet's work. The text is printed throughout in 'numerically balanced stanzas' and a closer examination reveals that there are many violent transpositions. The books are in part renumbered. Book I is enriched by two additional poems and is entitled *Cynthia*. Books II-IV (the traditional numbers) appears as *Elegiarum libri I-IV*. In the first and last books there are comparatively few transpositions, but *Elegiarum libb. I-II* are in large part a veritable *cento* of traditional Book II, and some portions of this book appear in Bk. I (*Cynthia*) and in *Elegiarum lib. IV*.

For an attempted justification of this procedure, which is— to use an adjective which Mr. Richmond himself has applied to his work — nothing short of 'revolutionary', we turn to the Introduction, pp. 3-62, supplemented by remarks scattered throughout the *apparatus criticus*. The very bases of his argument are matters of dispute. He starts with certain errors in the traditional text—poems beginning too abruptly, excessively abrupt transitions, omissions of something necessary to the thought, blocks of lines which do not harmonize with the preceding or following passages, etc. These supposed errors constitute his real evidence. He finds a surprisingly large number of these difficulties (as they ought rather to be called) occurring at intervals of 16 lines or multiples of 16 lines, i. e. (for him) the sections of text represent pages or leaves, as the case may be, of the uncial ancestor. But few scholars will agree with Mr. Richmond that in any considerable number of these cases errors really exist. Still fewer will agree in any given case that he deals with the error in the right way. He operates in most cases with lacunae, transpositions, and numerically balanced stanzas. Less often he appeals to the evidence of a new and distinct family of manuscripts (C), which he recognizes, or to details of his own chronology of the poems. His favorite argument is that the pages (of the lost uncial ancestor) and the numerically balanced stanzas demand the changes which he makes in the

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text. In the very first poem, for example, he assumes the loss
of a couplet after v. 11, as he must if the poem is to fill just
two pages (32 vv.) of the uncial ancestor and if the stanzas are
to balance numerically (8 6. 6 | 6. 6 8). But most scholars
reject the lacuna. He leaves II 34, 1-66 in the manuscript
order (though he assigns them to three different poems), but
he transfers vv. 67-94 to Book I where they form a new poem,
inserted between Nos. 20 and 21. He supports this transposition
(p. 37) by 'the reference to the *recent* death of Gallus (91),
the poet's claim to *enter* the band of poet-lovers, the signature
of the book " *Cynthia . . . Properti* " . . . and an aspiration
to fame (94) *in the future* . . . which consorts ill with e. g.
II 7, 17-18 ' etc. But this array of arguments is not convincing.
The reference to the death of Gallus (26 B. C.), for example,
will be decisive evidence for most scholars that these lines can
not stand in Book I. The phrase Cynthia . . . *versu* laudata
Properti cannot be the signature of the book since it refers to
the *girl*, not the book. And why should the signature of the
book be placed, as Mr. Richmond places it, in the third poem
from the end of the book? Transpositions usually create more
difficulties than they remove, but the strong argument against
this one is that the lines are perfectly intelligible where they
stand in the manuscripts. II 34 is in fact an excellent illus-
tration of the loose, *sermo*-like composition which is a marked
characteristic of elegy from Callimachus (the *Cydippe*) to
Propertius.

The statement that numerically balanced stanzas were 'a con-
stant feature of Propertius' composition' (p. 27) is far from
being established. In Book I, for example, Mr. Richmond con-
cludes that 'if 15 out of 23 elegies . . . show balanced stanzas,
it is probable that the other eight are built on similar lines'
(p. 29). But one of the 15 is the new elegy (I 22), which
consists of the lines transposed from II 34, and in four others
the numerical balance results from the assumption of lacunae
or the use of transposition. Thus the 15 shrink to 10 unless
we tinker the text as, in establishing a *principle* of this sort, we
ought not to do. In Book I therefore less than half the elegies
admit numerical balance. In the other books the proportion is
much smaller. Catullus and Tibullus as well as Propertius have
been plagued with this kind of thing, but as a pervasive principle
it simply will not work.

Mr. Richmond is forced into a new chronology by his trans-
positions. One example of this has already been given, but the
most striking case is manifest in the transposition of II, 10 to
the beginning of Book IV where, with an appendage consisting
of IV 1, 67-70, it forms a proem. Mr. Richmond reinterprets
the chronological references in II 10 to bring them into harmony

with those of Book IV, i. e., c. 20-15 B. C. 'We are in the period subsequent to 20 B. C. when the standards of Carrhae were recovered,' he says, and he adds much more. Now II 10 has usually been dated c. 26-25 B. C. and one reference alone is enough to render that date probable : among the military deeds of Augustus which he will celebrate Propertius alludes to the impending expedition under Aelius Gallus against Arabia. This expedition was being prepared 26-25 B. C. but ended disastrously 24 B. C. After this result was known how could the poet write et domus intactae te tremit Arabiae? Mr. Richmond does not discuss *intactae.* Moreover, the elegy is akin to the *recusatio* (cf. Horace c. I, 6) and it is doubtful whether it was ever intended to serve as a real proem. But as a proem it is certainly best suited to the work of Book II or III since in Book IV there is but a single elegy which to a certain extent fulfills the poet's promise, cf. IV 6 (on the temple of Apollo).

In addition to the more direct exposition of his theory Mr. Richmond has included in his Introduction remarks on literary and biographical details, on literary influences, and efforts to show that the Panegyric of Messalla (in the Tibullus collection) and the pseudo-Vergilian Catalepton IX are youthful works of Propertius. The whole of the Introduction, however one may disagree with the results, is well written and suggestive, but the best part of the book is the careful critical apparatus—the most complete yet published for Propertius—in which the editor has recorded a mass of material derived from his collection of 'every manuscript . . . of which information could be obtained in Western Europe.'

In a review of moderate length it is impossible to do more than illustrate the methods and results of a book so crowded with details. Mr. Richmond is not dogmatic; he is ready, he says, to be refuted *sine iracundia,* and he declares, with reference to the form in which he prints the text, that it will be 'for the republic of scholars to decide whether so bold a decision was justified by the circumstances, and whether it can be confirmed and followed by posterity.' The hope implied in these modest words is, I regret to say, doomed to disappointment. The republic of scholars will condemn by a large majority both Mr. Richmond's theory and its application. For despite its novelties the book as a whole represents a retreat to older and mostly abandoned positions of scholarship. Since the Roman elegists often reflect in verse their somewhat disjointed emotions, since (except in Catullus) their couplets are regularly more or less separable
. . . .
Dietrich '!—it is unfortunately easy to rearrange couplets and groups of couplets and yet maintain a semblance of sense. But this method long ago passed its hey-day. Through careful in-

terpretation we have acquired a better understanding of elegy and countless studies have demonstrated the peculiarities of. Propertius. In the light of our present knowledge we need rarely resort to the more violent methods of text-criticism. And after all the manuscripts, as manuscripts go, are much more reliable than those of Catullus and Tibullus, the two poets who most closely resemble Propertius, and so there is a presumption that his text has suffered less, not more, damage than theirs.

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Petronius, The Satiricon. Edited with Introduction and Notes by EVAN T. SAGE. New York and London: The Century Company, 1929. xl + 228 pp. $2.35.

This volume by Professor Sage is, on the whole, a very worthy contribution to the *Century College Latin Series,* and should meet with a cordial welcome among all students and teachers of Petronius, both on account of its scholarly character and its convenience as a text. It is, I believe, the first American edition of the extant *Satiricon* entire; and it has the merit of providing an annotated text for class-room use not merely of the familiar *Cena,* but likewise of many other fine passages of the *Satiricon* which are seldom read by students but which are indispensable to an understanding of the author's style and genius. The chapters annotated are 1-5 inclusive, 12-15, 26. 7-79. 4, 82. 1-4, 83, 88, 89, 93. 3-99, 100-112, 114-124. 1, 132. 15, 136. 4-137. 9, and 141. A summary is given in the notes of the unannotated chapters that intervene. The running commentary consists of brief notes intended to furnish practical aid to undergraduate students. The editor tells us that he has sought to explain all words not found in the smaller Latin dictionaries, together with certain others of rare occurrence. This will save the student a lot of unnecessary thumbing of his dictionary. In the *Cena* there are many words whose meaning and derivation are unknown or uncertain. In some cases Professor Sage discusses the origin and meaning of these words; but his usual practice is to give only a translation with or without the statement that the exact meaning is unknown or uncertain. It would be better, I think, to comment fully on all these words; the student as well as the teacher may be expected to have some curiosity about lexicographical problems of this sort and should be put in touch with the criticism relating thereto. Particularly interesting and worth while, in my opinion, are the occasional comments on certain colloquial Latin forms as the forerunners of similar phenomena in the Romance languages (cf. 2. 2, 26. 8, 43. 2, 44. 12,

46. 2, 63. 3). The *locus classicus* for *captatio* is undoubtedly
Hor. *Sat.* II. 5 and should be cited along with Pliny in the note
on 115. 6. The statement that the *quasdam gentes* mentioned
in 141. 3 are 'unknown' is inaccurate; see Herodotus III, 38
(the Callatiae); *id.* IV, 26 (the Issedones); Pomponius Mela,
III, 59 and III, 64-65. In the note on 1. 1 the reference to
Apuleius, *Met.* 3. 26 is wrong; it should be, I suppose, either
4. 5 or 8. 5 or 8.30. The mention of *schedium* in connection
with Lucilius is found in the prologue to Apul. *De Deo Soc.*,
not in the *Apologia* (note on 4. 5). In the note on 39. 5 read
Met. 1. 9 in place of *Met.* 1. 8 The cross reference to Lycurgus
in the note on 117. 3 should be to 83. 6 instead of to 86. 6; and it
is probable that this Lycurgus (in 83. 6) is not to be identified
with the famous lawgiver but with the host that Encolpius had
killed and who is here (117) mentioned again in connection with
the same lost episode (cf. *occidi hospitem* in 81. 3, *hospitem
Lycurgo crudeliorem* in 83. 6 and *quicquid Lycurgi villa gras-
santibus praebuisset* in 117. 3). Ovid, *Met.* 15. 525 ff. has no
bearing on the *Delphicus ales* of 122, line 177.

In his introduction Professor Sage writes short chapters on
'The *Satiricon* and its Background,' 'The Originality of Petro-
nius,' 'The Style of the *Satiricon*,' 'Petronius,' 'The History of
the Text' (followed by a valuable appendix on the MSS and edi-
tions), 'Informal Latin,' and a 'Synopsis of the Satiricon.'
Nearly all of these chapters are well written and scholarly. The
least satisfactory is that on the originality of Petronius (p. xiv-
xvii) which is so sketchy that it does not state the problem
intelligibly. The brief discussion in this connection of kindred
and antecedent types, being external in treatment and fragmen-
tary, is not very instructive, and here and there is likely to mis-
lead. The serious Greek romance came to its maturity in the
second century A. D. (or sooner), not in the fourth, and Achilles
Tatius is typical of its decadence rather than of its prime, for
which see Chariton and Xenophon. A. D. 400 as the approxi-
mate date of Achilles Tatius, is at least 50 or 75 years too late
(see *Ox. Pap.* X, no. 1250).[1] With due respect to Professor
Sage and his right of opinion on disputed matters, I must say
that the reiterated implication that Petronius was the originator
of a new literary form ignores some very pertinent data and
has for its support only the weakest kind of negative evidence,
the fact namely that no earlier romances have been preserved
and that the ancient writers (who ignore the romance as such
anyhow) have not mentioned any earlier specimens. If we had
to depend upon the testimony of ancient authors, we would not

[1] Grenfell and Hunt date the papyrus fragment from Bk. II in the
"early fourth century," and the composition of the romance around
300 A. D.

6

know whether the *Satiricon* itself was what we call a romance,
nor should we ever have heard about the romances of Chariton,
Longus, Apollonius of Tyre, or Pseudo-Kallisthenes. I can
believe that Petronius, in the story part of the *Satiricon,* was
writing in an already established Greek literary tradition of
which the Ὄνος is a later representative, without thereby lower-
ing my estimate of his originality, which in any case is that of
a genius in the fullest sense of the word. New literary forms,
however, are rarely, if ever, invented all at once, and least of all
by great writers, whose inspiration is generally of a different
sort, and who are not likely to waste time experimenting with
external combinations or formal devices. A Homer, an Aeschy-
lus, a Vergil, a Dante, or a Rabelais may modify substantially
the form with which he works, but the thing with which he is
most concerned, and which marks his genius, is the wine, so to
speak, that he puts into the old bottle and not the shape of the
bottle itself. If the *Satiricon* is not brand new in respect to its
underlying pattern, it is all the more classical for not being so.

The position of Petronius as *arbiter elegantiae* at Nero's court
(cf. p. xxii and 209) was presumably, though not certainly, un-
official. A passage of Suetonius, which has rarely if ever been
cited in this connection, tells us that Tiberius *novum officium
instituit a voluptatibus, praeposito equite Romano T. Caesonio
Prisco* (*Tib.* 42). In view of this precedent, it is conceivable
at least that Petronius held the same or a similar position under
Nero.

The 'Supplementary Notes' (pp. 197-204) are intended to
furnish starting points for further investigation and will be
found of particular interest and value to advanced students.
They consist of brief excursuses on well-chosen topics and are full
of valuable leads and information brought together from a wide
variety of sources. Among the topics treated in these excellent
notes are some which always challenge attention, but for which
there is no suitable or available commentary elsewhere. I have
in mind especially the notes on 'The Satiricon and Satire,'
wherein the title of Petronius' work is discussed authoritatively
and in detail; 'The Troiae Halosis and Nero'; 'The Book
Division of the Satiricon'; 'The Short Cut to Painting'; and
'The Widow of Ephesus.' The other topics are: 'Petronius
and the Milesian Tale' (too brief and not sufficiently " *gründ-
lich* "), 'The Literary Influence of Petronius,' 'The Place and
Date of the Cena,' 'The Realism of Petronius,' 'The Literary
Theory of Petronius' (wherein Miss Baldwin's study deserves
more attention than it receives), 'The Seating Arrangements at
the Banquet,' 'Astrology,' and 'Riddles.' Professor Sage has a
very extensive knowledge of the critical literature on his subject
and has here drawn on it to good advantage. The ample and

very useful bibliography which he appends at the back of the book is no mere show-piece, but an index to material that has actually been used. I miss, however, a reference to R. Cahen's *Le Satiricon et ses Origines* (Lyon, 1925), which is one of the finest and most reliable critiques of Petronius' art that I know, and the only one that does full justice to the connections between the *Satiricon* and Roman satire.

In his preface Professor Sage tells us that he has had 'no desire to make this a critical edition in any sense,' and that his text 'in general is that of Bücheler and Heraeus.' It contains, nevertheless, a fairly large number of readings and omissions for which no authority can be found in the critical apparatus of Bücheler's *editio maior* or in Gaselee's reproduction of *H;* and yet we are given no critical notes or apparatus by which to check their authority. Although Professor Sage probably knows more about the MSS of Petronius than anyone else living, and although, as he says, he has had at hand a considerable quantity of other material not accessible to recent editors, nevertheless he ought not to expect us to accept *ex cathedra,* and without knowing their sources, a lot of readings and omissions which rarely or never improve the text and sometimes do it positive harm. He should at least give us the authority for these odd readings and omissions, if he has any; otherwise, our natural assumption must be that they are errors or misprints, since few of them are plausible as emendations. The following apparent departures from the MSS are in point (I have examined only chaps. 1-100) : 21. 5, *splendissime* for *splendidissime;* 25. 2, *videatur* for *videbatur;* 30. 5, *servis* for *pueris;* 33. 3 *argentosque* for *argenteosque* (misprint?) ; 33. 5, *inquit* for *ait;* 38. 5, *coccinum* for *coccineum* (misprint?); 43. 3, *enim* for *eius;* 44. 7, *terras* for *terram;* 45. 13, *ego* for *tibi;* 57. 5, *dicit* for *dixit;* 58. 8, *mercedem* for *mercedes* (possibly an emendation, but if so, unnecessary) ; 65. 2, *ambitiossime* for *ambitiosissime* (misprint?) ; 78. 4, *inquit* for *ait;* 78. 8, *raptumque* for *raptimque* (misprint?) ; 80. 6, *etiam* for *statim;* 92. 5, *poculum* for *poculo;* 94. 10, *prius* for *prior;* 97. 1, *instat* for *intrat;* 107. 13, *sit* for *est.* In each of the cases here cited what appears to be the correct reading of the MSS has been retained by Bücheler (1862), Heraeus (1922), Ernout, and Friedländer (for the *Cena*). I have been able to verify most of these readings and of those mentioned below, since they occur in passages for which *H* is presumably the only authority. The following words omitted in Sage's text are kept by the editors above mentioned upon the authority of what one may assume, in the absence of critical comment, to be the principal MSS in each case, certainly in the *H* portion: 26. 5, *subinde;* 29. 1, *erat* (after *pariete*) ; 31. 3, *cum;* 35. 4, *erat* (after *scriblita*) ; 47. 5,

esse (after *tormentum*); 54. 5, *enim* (after *vicem*); 56. 3, *saepe;* 75. 6, *tibi;* 79. 8 (first line of the poem), *illa,* the omission of which spoils the meter; 80. 8, *parem* (without which the sentence can scarcely be construed); 82. 3, *ille;* 82. 4, *ipsa* (after *atque*). I suppose most of these are due to oversight, since I can see no good reason why any of them should be deleted. The editor's avowed conservative policy has led him to restore felicitously a goodly number of such plausible MS readings as *ponitis* (27. 4), *berbex* (57. 1), *cingor* (82. 1), *fata* (89 1. 13), etc.; but, on the other hand, I cannot understand that reverence for manuscripts (and often it is only one or two easily confused letters in a single 15th century MS that are involved) which prompts him to retain *tenuit* in 12. 6 (which spoils the sense); *heu est heu* in 42. 4; *ridebant* in 44. 18 (with Ernout; Bücheler reads *redibant.* Sage and Ernout might as well have kept *ut dii* also which is every bit as plausible as *ridebant.*); *tres* in 48. 4 (not plausible as an absurdity on Trimalchio's part, for there is no point in it); and *avium inquit* in 69. 8, without either supplying *amici* with Bücheler or marking a lacuna with Ernout (by following the MS here, the words *inquit Trimalchio* are made to introduce a direct quotation, which is very bad Latin). *Coleum Iovis tenere* in 51. 5 is shockingly conservative; but it is the reading of *H,* and there is a lot we don't know about Latin slang. For scientific reasons, as well as for the sake of consistency, Professor Sage should have retained *oppresserit* in the speech of Trimalchio in 71. 1; for it is not only the reading of *H* (followed by Heraeus and Ernout) but the same construction is used by Echion in 46. 5 (Sage). In 12. 5 the reading *metu* of *Tp* is inappropriate to the context, and seems to have little advantage in regard to MS authority over *motu* of *Lt,* which fits the situation exactly. I should raise similar objections in regard to a dozen or more other readings that differ from Bücheler-Heraeus and Ernout, but these matters are too subjective to be discussed here.

<div style="text-align:right">B. E. PERRY.</div>

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The Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. VII: The Hellenistic Monarchies and the Rise of Rome. xxxi + 987 pp. + tables. Cambridge, At the University Press, 1928.

This huge volume deals with two of the most difficult periods in the range of ancient history, periods for which contemporary literary evidence is almost wholly lacking and for a knowledge of which we are dependent on traditional accounts preserved in writers of a later age. It has been the task of the authors of this volume to winnow out of the later writers

such parts of the tradition as seem to them genuine and based
on contemporary records and to supplement the data so ob-
tained by other, non-literary, sources, epigraphical, papyrologi-
cal, archaeological. This task has been skillfully and conserva-
tively performed. One is struck also with the pains taken to
articulate the contributions of the several contributors by means
of cross-references. But, although an attempt is made to unify
the volume, yet, in accordance with the plan of the series, each
author is free to express his independent judgment on moot
questions. For example, Mr. Last takes a view of Etruscan
origins different from that of the author of Vol. IV, Ch. xii,
and Mr. Tarn and M. Holleaux accept differing dates for the
battle of Sellasia.

The contributors represent four countries, and it is satisfactory
to note that three Americans (including Prof. Rostovtzeff)
have made substantial contributions to the volume.

The first chapter of the book, dealing with the leading ideas
of the Hellenistic epoch, is written by Prof. Ferguson and is
characterized by his usual faculty for cogent and happy generali-
zation:

" Macedon exerted no such transforming influence on Greece as Rome
did in Italy. There was no Hellenic analogue for Latinization."

" City-states desired two things which the world situation made it
impossible for them to have simultaneously—liberty and protection;
and yearning for the former killed gratitude for the latter, so that
devotion to a dynasty had great difficulty in gathering strength."

In chapter ii, Mr. de Navarro takes us back of the third
century in time, and also forward, to introduce the Gauls and
their culture and character, thus paving the way for their in-
troduction presently as persons in the drama.

Chapter iii, by Mr. Tarn, gives a sketch of the political history
of the Hellenistic world from the battle of Ipsus to the fall of
Lysimachus and the final establishment of the Antigonid dynasty
in Macedon. The story is clearly told (if one has mastered
the proper names involved), but Mr. Tarn leaves the impression
at times of trying to tell us more than the limits at his dis-
posal allow. Chapters iv-vi (the first two by Prof. Rostovtzeff,
the other by Mr. Tarn) give an account of the political, social,
and economic structure of Egypt, the Seleucid empire, and
Greece and Macedonia respectively.

The intellectual aspects of the Hellenistic age are treated in
the next three chapters. Chapter vii, by Mr. Angus, treats of
Athens, the new comedy, and gives a sprightly account of the
new philosophies; chapter viii, by Mr. Barber, deals with the
literature of Alexandria; science and mathematics are covered
in a chapter written jointly by Mr. W. H. S. Jones and Sir

Thomas L. Heath. These three chapters are among the most fascinating in the book. One can only marvel at the combination of classical learning and scientific knowledge displayed by the authors of chapter ix and regret that most historical students will hardly be able to follow the intricacies of Greek mathematics even on the moderate scale on which they are here set forth.

Beginning with chapter x, we take a step backward chronologically to pick up the beginnings of Rome, and chapters x-xvi, written by Prof. Stuart Jones and Mr. Last, carry the story down to the beginning of the fourth century. Prof. Jones in chapter x gives an excellent account of the main sources from which any history of early Rome must be made out, together with a temperate evaluation of the worth of the several parts and the principles which must govern their use. The short-comings of the tradition are not spared in detail, but the general attitude is conservative:

"But often the stones are dumb and the books speak but do not speak the truth. Yet to reject root and branch the statements of the Romans about their early history is to abdicate the office of the historian. Amid much that is false the tradition contains a nucleus of truth, and it is the task of the historian to do the best he can to discover it."

This task the authors have conscientiously performed in these chapters. They have been on the whole respectful toward the tradition. Full weight has been accorded the conventional critical principles, yet much of the tradition has been salvaged. The kings, except perhaps Romulus, are apparently historical personages, especially the last three, and the main outlines of the early wars are accepted. Considerable confidence is reposed in the consular *fasti* and the *fasti triumphales*. Mr. Last considers the Etruscans to be indigenous in Italy. While recognizing Etruscan influence on Rome, he protests against exaggerating it:

"It would be idle to deny that Rome borrowed from Etruria, but no less idle to represent Roman culture as Etruscan . . . the Roman debt was incurred by casual loans from the more rapidly developed culture which lay across the river . . . save for a period in the sixth century, and then only in a political sense, Rome was not an Etruscan city."

The authors expressly recognize the tendency of the tradition to read back into the early history of Rome the motives of later republican controversies, but are still inclined to see in the 'struggle of the orders' much that is economic beside the purely political.

The whole account is most temperate and is singularly free, for an account of this particular period, of dizzying critical ingenuities. One of the difficulties in writing about early Roman history is to know where to begin. The fact of the

presence of 'inhumers' side by side with 'cremators' in early
Italy does not seem to help the subsequent narrative a great
deal, though doubtless, if intrinsically interesting, the inclusion
of the fact is justified.

M. Homo continues the story with an account of the tem-
porary set-back of the Romans at the hands of the Gauls in
the fourth century (chapter xvii), and in the following chapter,
Prof. Adcock, who deals more severely with the tradition than
his colleagues, relates the story of the building of the Italian
confederation to the time of Pyrrhus.

The account of the career of Agathocles by Mr. Cary and
Prof. Tenney Frank's chapter on Pyrrhus bring the south-
Italian Greeks, the Sicilians, and the Carthaginians on the stage
and pave the way for Prof. Frank's chapter on the first Punic
war (xxi). Prof. Frank discusses the Senate's aversion to the
war and makes the prospective difficulty of the war (p. 670)
a possible deterrent, although as far as any one could see the
war would probably be fought in Sicily. And yet, the conquest
of Carthage itself had seemed feasible to Agathocles (p. 626)
and to Pyrrhus (p. 651). Surely the Romans must have known
that their own resources were not inferior to those of Agathocles
or Pyrrhus. The Romans won the war and that in spite of the
fact that they had no navy at the outset, while the naval power
of Carthage is rated as prodigious. One sometimes feels that
the later Romans, in their pride that their nation had started
from scratch in a hurdle race, have somewhat magnified the
hurdles. The genius of Hannibal in the second Punic war was,
no doubt, for a time, a formidable thing and the Romans were
thoroughly impressed, if not a little scared by him, but, aside
from this one episode, the success of the Romans in the Punic
wars seems, mistakes apart, to have been uniform and reasonably
easy. The reason for senatorial aversion to the war offered on pp.
670-1, namely that such a war would inevitably bring more 'new
men' to the fore, is perhaps a better one. As Prof. Marsh has
insisted in his 'Founding of the Roman Empire,' it is a motive
that operated strongly in the anti-imperialistic policy of the
Senate in the second and first centuries. Especially to be com-
mended in the present chapter is the final section on the widen-
ing of the intellectual outlook of the Romans through twenty
years of continuous intercourse with the Sicilian Greeks.

At this point, the Roman story is interrupted to take us back
to the eastern Mediterranean. It has been the tendency of
historical writing in recent years to treat Mediterranean history
as an organic whole, and, while *a priori* the tendency seems to be
a desirable one, there are great practical difficulties in so treating
it. After one has enumerated a few articles of commercial ex-
change and noted the bare fact of a few Roman embassies (one
seems to be archaeologically attested) to Delphi, the connections

of Rome with the Greek east prior to the end of the third century
simmers down to very little. Chapter xxii, which takes the
history of Ptolemies and Seleucids down to Raphia, and xxiii,
which deals with Greece and Macedonia to the Cleomenic war,
might just as well have followed chapter vi immediately. The
two chapters, by Mr. Tarn, give a clear, well-ordered account of
a most trying period. A certain unity is given Mr. Tarn's
chapters by his occasional mild expressions of sympathy and ad-
miration for Antigonus Gonatas, which make the ' Old Man '
into a not unattractive hero. Mr. Tarn's deflation of the ability
and exploits of Ptolemy III seems to be justifiable.

   Chapters xxiv and xxv are by way of preparation for the
story of the second Punic war to come in the next volume. The
former treats of the ethnic and cultural relations of the Spanish
peninsula and the activities of the Carthaginians there to the
siege of Saguntum. The chapter is done by Prof. Schulten, so
well known for his work at Numantia. The peculiar lotion
and dentifrice of the Celtiberians, which, when we encountered
it in Catullus, we were inclined to set down as one of those con-
temptuous hyperbolae that a certain type of patriotism is prone
to employ in speaking of the despised foreigner (one recalls the
filthy whiskers of the Bolsheviki), is apparently to be taken seri-
ously. Chapter xxv, by Prof. Frank, discusses the history of
Rome in the interval between the Punic wars with illuminating
sections on the organization of Sicily and the beginnings of an
imperial policy, the conquest and expulsion of the Gauls, and
the democratic movement under Flaminius.

   The volume is concluded by M. Holleaux's chapter on the
Illyrian wars and the earliest Roman contacts with Greece and
Macedonia, a necessary preliminary to the story of Roman ex-
pansion in the east in the second century.

   The volume is provided with tables, genealogical and chrono-
logical, and a number of excellent maps. The dignified material
aspect of the Cambridge volumes is too well known to require
comment, but one cannot refrain from paying tribute to the
astounding accuracy of the proofreading. To find an error, one
is almost reduced to pointing out the wrong spacing of a single
letter in the last line of the footnote to p. 782; on p. 451,
comitatus appears for comitiatus.

   The volume will be a great boon to the teacher of ancient
history. Many of the subjects treated have not hitherto been
available in convenient form in English, at least not within
single covers. Particularly has there not been available a good
comprehensive account of the political and international history
of the Greek east as a whole, apart from the recent brilliant
sketch in Mr. Tarn's ' Hellenistic Civilization,' which is much
too compact for the use of undergraduates. Beloch's volume IV

has been of great assistance to the teacher, but it is hardly neces-
sary to point out how little reliance can be placed on under-
graduate ability to use a foreign language.   The chapters on the
sources of early Roman history (what teacher has the time
or inclination to wade through the controversy from Beaufort and
Niebuhr to Pais and Beloch, or even to read Sir G. C. Lewis in
English?), the chapters on the Gauls, and especially the new
synthesis of early Roman history will likewise prove very accep-
table from this point of view.   When now the volume dealing
with the second and third centuries A. D. appears, if it is as well
done as the present volume, the task of the teacher of ancient
history will be materially lightened and assisted.

<div align="right">Ernest L. Hettich.</div>

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*Schallanalytische Versuche.   Eine Einführung in die Schall-
    analyse.*   Von Gunther Ipsen und Fritz Karg.   Heidel-
    berg, 1928.   Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung.   Pp.
    xi + 319.

The purpose of this book is, as the subtitle states, to furnish
an introduction into the fascinating but difficult subject of the
analysis of speech sounds in connected discourse, and as such
concerns itself primarily with the melodic and rhythmic quali-
ties of written verse and prose.   The authors, assisted by other
former students of Sievers, the founder of *Schallanalyse,*
attempt the Herculean task of presenting to the uninitiated the
methods of approach and the results of their independent labors
in this comparatively new field, which will undoubtedly become
a very valuable auxiliary in all philological work.

In order to forestall the usual criticism that the exponents of
Schallanalyse deal mainly with texts belonging to older literary
periods whose acoustic qualities can no longer be determined
with certainty, the authors used for the most part modern
texts, which were chosen by others not directly concerned with
the experiments in question, and which were consequently un-
known to the investigators.   In addition, poems by a Dutch
writer of the 17th century and an excerpt from Tacitus were
examined.   All of the problems submitted were to be sure not
solved completely or correctly.   As a matter of fact, the investi-
gators are quite frank in confessing their inability to master
all the difficulties confronting them.   In some cases they see
a limit to *Schallanalyse,* in others, they attribute their failure
to insufficient practice, and feel sure that in time they will
develop greater skill.   Indeed in several instances they immedi-
ately understood the nature and cause of their mistakes.

cities. Alexander, then, could hardly have reached Cabul by November, 330. Hogarth attempts to solve the problem by bringing Alexander to Hindu Kush in December, 329, and dividing the winter 328-7 between Zariaspa and Nautaca, but this latter interprets too liberally two passages in Arrian (*Anab.* IV, 7, I; 18, 2). Tarn (*Cambridge Ancient History* VI, p. 390 ff.), in order to provide a winter each at Zariaspa and Nautaca, which is the obvious meaning of Arrian, brings Alexander to the entrance of the Cabul valley in the spring of 329, but this does not agree with Arrian (III, 28, I) and Strabo (pp. 724-5). The solution of the problem is probably to be found by cutting down the length of Alexander's stay in Persis (four months according to Plutarch, *Alex.* 37) to about six weeks. This would permit Alexander to come upon the body of Darius in early May, 330, and finish his campaigning in Hyrcania in time to reach Hindu Kush that winter (early February), and to spend the next two winters at Zariaspa and Nautaca.

The point to stress at the beginning of the account of the siege of Tyre is not that Alexander wished merely to worship at the shrine of Heracles, but rather at the shrine of Heracles in New Tyre, the strongly fortified island. Alexander cared not at all for the older shrine on the mainland, which he could take without trouble. It may also be noted that the letter Alexander received from Darius at Tyre offered him all the country west of the Euphrates, not west of the Halys (p. 27).

There are several relatively unimportant mistakes in the book. For example, Alexander, at Ecbatana, did not send Cleitus on to Parthia (p. 35), but ordered Cleitus to follow him into Parthia when he had recovered from his illness at Susa. JOUGUET speaks of the frontier of Babylonia being closed by a wall 20 parasangs long (p. 31). However, it is clear from Xenophon (*Anab.* I, 7, where a trench seems to take the place of the wall) that even in his time the wall was partly in ruins.

Attention might be called to many such points throughout the book. It is not simply in facts, however, in which JOUGUET errs at times; occasionally he fails to bring out the full significance of events. The visits to Gordium and Ammon might be interpreted better; certainly Alexander's so-called orientalizing should be explained more fully.

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Abbé D. Tardi. *Fortunat. Étude sur un Dernier Représentant de la Poésie Latine dans la Gaule Mérovingienne.* Paris, Boivin, 1927. Pp. xvi, 288.

" On a déjà beaucoup écrit sur Fortunat," says the author of this book, and he proceeds to do the same. After an introduc-

tion on the condition of learning and literature in Gaul during the invasions of the barbarians, he treats, in his three main divisions, of the influences that helped to form the poet, of his sources of inspiration (i. e. the things that he wrote about) and of his modes of expression. The third, and most valuable, section, includes helpful information about various aspects of the poet's Latinity. The analysis of Fortunatus's poetry is thorough, long-winded, replete with quotations from other people's books, and, for a French work, dull. It will hardly tempt a reader to absorb its contents from cover to cover, but it may be profitably consulted on many a point. For this last reason, it deserves an index.

<div align="right">E. K. RAND.</div>

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C. Suetoni Tranquilli vita Tiberi, C. 24 - C. 40, neu kommentiert von R. J. RIETRA, S. J. The Hague, 1927.

Among the desiderata of classical scholars is an adequate commentary on the De vita Caesarum of Suetonius. This must be preceded, and has to some extent been preceded, by editions of the separate Lives and by special studies of the numerous problems presented by the text and its interpretation. The sifting of this mass of material, and its organization into a commentary of workable dimensions, will be a difficult, but very useful, contribution.

The magnitude of the task is vividly illustrated by Rietra's monograph, in which sixty-seven closely printed pages of two columns each are devoted to the elucidation of seventeen chapters of the Tiberius. A decided improvement on some previous works of the kind is that the five pages of text, separately printed, are contained in a pocket at the end of the book and thus can be used with unusual convenience. The text shows no deviations from that of Ihm, for although the author regards et in the first line of C. 24 as "eine sinnlose Dittographie," he nevertheless lets it stand.

The notes include parallel passages from the Greek and Roman writers, a very full digest of the secondary sources, and the author's own conclusions. Especially full and interesting are the discussions of diu tamen (principatum) recusavit (C. 24); cunctandi causa erat metus, etc. (25); templa . . . decerni sibi prohibuit (26); externas caerimonias, with the rules immediately following (36); and these examples by no means exhaust the list.

The work is well and carefully printed. Bennett appears as Berneli on p. 65, Mowat as Morvat on 61, praefectum as prae-fectus on 26, and there are a few other misprints, none of

which is misleading to the reader. Whether or not the monograph is a doctoral dissertation does not appear (there is no title-page), but at the end nine theses are proposed, of which only one directly relates to Suetonius.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY:

In the last number of *The American Journal of Philology* (Vol. L, 1, Whole No. 197) Professor Lodge was good enough to review my Latin Grammar, recently published by the Macmillan Company. I have the utmost respect for the scholarship of Professor Lodge and also for his spirit of fairness. But he has so completely misunderstood me in one or two points of fundamental importance that I must, in justice to myself, correct the false impression that readers may possibly get from what he says. The words to which I refer are found on pages 91 and 92, where he says that I " aim in general to present the syntax of Latin from the point of view of the English, that is, to answer the question: How does the Latin express such and such an English usage? " This seems to be accusing me of allowing myself, in determining the essential fundamental force of a Latin construction, to be influenced by our English translation. If this is what Professor Lodge means, I wish to repeat, with all possible emphasis, that it shows a complete and fundamental misunderstanding of my point of view and my methods of work.

The real question that I ask myself, in approaching any construction in Latin, is: " What is the essential thought and feeling that the Romans themselves regarded as fundamental in the construction? I seek the answer to that question, without the slightest regard to any English that anyone uses in translating. After a comprehensive study of the Latin instances has shown me what the Romans regarded as the fundamental thought and feeling underlying the construction, I consider it my duty, when I am trying to act primarily as a helpful guide to students, to call their attention to English translations that come nearest to representing the fundamental thought and feeling involved in the Latin. The failure of grammars and other manuals to cite such English equivalents and their frequent selection of other translations that give no hint of the fundamental feeling involved in the Latin has led to highly disastrous results. This fact is well illustrated by the .word

noceo, commonly given in grammars and other manuals as meaning "to injure" and translated by that word. This translation has led to the following disastrous results. As *noceo* takes the dative case, grammars and other manuals have formulated the rule that verbs meaning "to injure" take the dative. As a matter of fact, of the numerous Latin verbs that mean "to injure," not a single one ever takes the dative on account of its having that meaning. Here is the list of such verbs (omitting the verbs that come under the rule for the dative with prepositional compounds) : *laedo, violo, corrumpo, afflicto, injurior, imminuo, obsolefacio, obduco.* And everyone of these verbs takes the accusative, the case of the direct object, the case that one would expect with a transitive verb. The English verb "injure" is a transitive verb and as such takes a direct object. The Latin verb *noceo* is an intransitive verb and can of course never take a direct object. Let a student understand that the fundamental meaning of *noceo,* as recognized by our lexicographers, is represented by "do harm," instead of "injure" and he will instinctively use the dative with *noceo* without learning any rule at all.

Let no one imagine that such disastrous results of false translations in grammars and other manuals are rare. The manuals that we have put into the hands of our students abound in errors of this sort. Examine, for instance, the following verbs, with their usual translations, commonly cited along with *noceo* as special verbs governing the dative : *faveo,* favor ; *invideo,* envy ; *pareo,* obey ; *placeo,* please ; *servio,* serve ; *indulgeo,* indulge ; *parco,* spare ; *auxilior,* help. Notice that each of these Latin verbs is an intransitive verb that *never* takes a direct object and that each of them is translated by an English transitive verb that *always* takes a direct object. All this is calculated to befuddle the brain of students, and of teachers too for that matter. If an honest attempt were made in our manuals to translate systematically a Latin word or construction by the nearest English equivalent, it would greatly simplify and clarify many things that now cause serious trouble. I have attempted to do this in my own grammar and am glad to notice that a few other grammars (Gildersleeve–Lodge among them) have in some cases done the same. I am gratified to notice that Professor Lodge, in spite of his objections to my use of translations observes that there is in my treatment "often a positive gain in simplicity" and that my treatment "is a considerable advance" on that of my predecessors.

On page 84 Professor Lodge uses the following language : "Strangely enough Professor Elmer clings to the usual error of giving the form of the perfect passive infinitive and similar forms with the nominative of the participle, although Gilder-

sleeve drew attention more than sixty years ago to the impossibility of *amatus esse,* for example, in a paradigm." In making this statement, Professor Lodge had, for the moment, forgotten such normal types of expression as *videtur amatus esse,* he seems to have been loved, *dicitur amatus esse,* he is said to have been loved, *putatur amatus esse,* he is thought to have been loved, etc., etc.

I do not quite see how Professor Lodge could get the impression that " throughout the syntax little indication is given of the extent of the applicability of the various categories." In view of the frequency of my comments and notes regarding the extent of the various categories, I feel sure that users of the book will, in general, feel that such matters are properly treated.

As regards Professor Lodge's statement that *fatis* (in Vergil Aen. 1, 239) is not in the dative, as I thought, but in the ablative case, I would say that that question is still in dispute. Some editors of the Aeneid (e. g. Bennett, Kennedy, Ladewig-Schaper) call it dative. On further consideration, however, I am inclined to think that Professor Lodge is right on this point.

There are several other points in Professor Lodge's review in which it seems to me he is unquestionably wrong, but these I am willing to leave to the impartial judgment of others.

<div align="right">H. C. ELMER.</div>

CORNELL UNIVERSITY.

<div align="center">PROFESSOR LODGE'S REPLY.</div>

I am indebted to the *American Journal of Philology* for the privilege of replying to the foregoing letter. I do not think I have misunderstood Professor Elmer's views, but in any case I should prefer to leave the matter to the judgment of scholars who may use the book. With regard to *amatus esse,* I will only remark that if Professor Elmer would rewrite *laudatum esse quam culpatum praestat* by substituting *laudatus* and *culpatus,* then he and I understand Latin differently.

<div align="right">GONZALEZ LODGE.</div>

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COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

<div align="center">•</div>

<div align="center">BOOKS RECEIVED.</div>

<div align="center">•</div>

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NOTES ON HOFMANN'S LATEINISCHE SYNTAX UND STILISTIK.

Almost twenty years have elapsed since the appearance of Schmalz's Fourth Edition of the *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik*, a book of outstanding importance.[1] The new Edition is most welcome. As an authoritative compendium of our knowledge up to 1928 Hofmann's book is invaluable and indispensable. And it is not simply a careful and judicious revision of its predecessor. In effect it is a new and independent piece of work, with a more logical and discriminating arrangement of old material, and with the introduction of much new material. Greater emphasis is placed upon Late Latin usages, upon Colloquial and Popular[2] modes of expression (often with the inclusion of their survival in the Romance Languages), and due attention is given to the light that recent investigations in the Italic Dialects have shed upon Latin usages. And new categories[3] appear, classified in the Index. The Editor is to be

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[1] Each new edition is a marvel of condensation. but with a constantly increasing need of enlargement: the 3rd, appearing in 1900, with an increase of 100 pp., the 4th, in 1910, of 110 pp., and now the 5th, 1928, of 204 pp., accompanied by a comprehensive and illuminating chapter (35 pp.) on the "Entwicklung und Stand der Lateinischen Sprachforschung ". For this increase the Classical world is most grateful. However, though the Editor deserves the highest praise, the Publisher is open to criticism: the increase in the price of the book from 17 Marks to 48 Marks accompanied by a marked decrease in the quality of the paper used! In a book intended for a permanent record the use of an inferior paper that will soon attract ink is a loss dear back to those who desire to make marginal annotations.

[2] "Umgangssprache " (105 citations) and "Volkssprache " (79).

[3] As "Sondersprachen " (31), "Kirchensprache " (3), "Sakral

congratulated upon the completion of a large and important piece of work. In a book in which there is so much to commend in the highest terms, it is a matter of regret that it cannot be given unqualified praise. And it should be said that in a work of so vast a scope, with thousands of details, with countless problems of exclusion and inclusion, some details would naturally be open to criticism. The Editor, being the " Redaktor am Thes. Ling. Lat. in München ", is in an exceptionally favorable position for speedily acquiring an accurate and complete history of a particular Latin usage, for ascertaining its first appearance and early course and tracing its development down to its latest manifestations, yet he himself informs us in his Vorwort (p. viii) that he has made use of such material only so far as recorded in the Archiv, i. e. up to 1908! In recording the history of a particular usage sufficient care has not always been taken in citing authors in their strictly chronological order, in differentiating between the exceptional and the regular usage, in always making it clear when one passage is cited for an author that he has not used it oftener. This is likely to cause confusion. And, too, in some instances lists of three or four authors are cited for a certain usage with an " u. ö.", an " al.", or an " u. s. w." appended, leading to the inference that where such is not added the list up to that point is not only complete, but that the usage is not found later. Of course, in a work of this character incompleteness of citations or inaccuracies of statement are often due to a faulty record in the authority used.

The following comments are here added in the hope that they may be of service in a later reprint or a subsequent edition.

P. 347, 6: Riemann & Lejay *Synt. lat.* should be cited in a later edition (1927).

P. 361, 180: cite also Grandgent *From Latin to Italian* (1927).

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sprache " (6), as well as " Hebraismen " (10) and " Gräzismen " (105). And, too, Magic and Theology have invaded this realm, certain usages being referred to the " Zaubersprache " and " Zauberkraft " (pp. 28, 34), to the ' Evil Eye ' (*invideo* p. 412), to " Heilige " Numbers (p. 492), to the " Auguralsprache " (p. 493), to the " Sprache der Götter und Geister " (pp. 22, 35), and *Tabu* (pp. 28, 29, 824, 836, 838).

P. 373, Lit.: cite also M. Schlossarek *Spr.-vergl. Kasusbetrachtung im Lat. u. Gr.* (1913).

P. 377 b): *egredior* with Accus., cited by others for Sall. Jug. 110, 8, is, however, from a speech by Bocchus.

P. 379 Lit.: add W. Hamilton Kirk *Cl. Weekly* XIII (1920) pp. 91 f.; 98 f., "The accusative of specification."

P. 382, l. 5: note that the "Abl. Dur." is not justified so much by the "nebenstehendes Adj." as by the character of the Adj., as by the use of *tota* which logically makes the action "ununterbrochen" (especially when reinforced, as in Caes. B. G. 1, 46, 1 by *continenter*), or by the use of *omni,* as in Hor. C. II, 3, 5. Note *toto die* Curt. 6, 8, 12; *toto die . . . tota nocte* Sen. *Contr.* 1, 5, 2; *tota die* Just. 31, 2, 3; *tota nocte* Juv. 10, 206; Mart. 7, 10, 6; and the use of *perpetuo* in Ter. *Ad.* 527, of *perducere* in 520; of *permanebit* in Columella 2, 10, 28 and of *semper* in Livy 21, 16, 5. From such usages it passed to others where it was not so well justified, as even in Caes. B. C. 1, 7, 7; 47, 3; 3, 59, 1 and even to such expressions as *vixit annis* as in Vell. 1, 1, 3; Sen. *Ep.* 75, 23; 93, 3 etc., a usage becoming common in Late Latin. Note also that Just. says *per annos* in 2, 8, 10; 40, 1, 4 and *annos* with *natus est* in 6, 5, 2; 11, 1, 9; 12, 16, 3 etc.

P. 385, *id genus:* it should be noted that *id genus* appears first in Ennius (not Lucilius) and reaches its climax in Gellius, who uses it 30 times, not 20 (Müller l. c.; to ALL l. c. add 11, 15, 8 and also Enn. *Var.* 70 (V), Suet. *Tib.* 69 and Ammian. 16, 7, 7). *Muliebre secus* is also used by Suet. *Aug.* 44, 3; *id temporis* also by Vell. 2, 4, 6 and Gell. 12, 1, 7; 13, 11, 4; 18, 6, 1.

P. 386: note that (with the Acc. exclam.) Prudentius uses *O* 4 times, *En* 3 times, *Ecce* once (Lease *Prud.* p. 17) and that Symm. *Ep.* I, 80 has: En tibi litteras; compare also II, 19; VI, 56.

P. 389 f.: note that *in id loci* appears already in Ter. *Phorm.* 979 (as was noted in A.J.P. XX (1899) p. 60); that Cic. *Att.* 4, 3, 3 is doubtful, and "epist." here and elsewhere is used for *"am.;* that Livy 22, 20, 10 has *ad interiora provinciae* (cf. Curt. 4, 7, 5; 9, 1, 8) and Suet. *Tit.* 8, 5 has *inter adversa temporum:* that possibly *interea* loci was used by Pacuv. 76; that

Auct. Her. 1, 21 has *per id temporis* and Vell. 2, 4, 6 has *ad· id temporis; id aevi* was used by Apul. *Flor.* 15 (p. 21, 6 H.). In β note Stat. *Th.* 2, 152, *egregii iuvenum:* in ε Ovid (*Pont.* 3, 9, 44 *unus amicorum*) should be inserted before Livy.

P. 404, l. 2: note that with *plenus* Hor. always uses the Gen., Prop. always the Abl., but Verg. uses both (Gen. E. 3, 60; Aen. I, 460; Abl. G. 2, 4,; 4, 181; A. 5, 311; 9, 456) and see also Lease A.J.P. 30, 404; *opulentus:* earlier in Hor. C. 1, 17, 16; *nudus opum:* also in Sil. (4, 606; 14, 343 omitted by Draeger I, p. 478 also); *certus:* Lucan (8, 120), Sil. (6, 27), Quint. (4, 3, 8), Tac. (Ann. 12, 32), Plin. (6, 16, 12); *maturior aevi* Claud. *Cons. Stil.* 2, 348.

P. 405, l. 6: note the use of *compos mentis* by Ovid *Met.* 8, 35; d: *macte* Stat. Theb. 2, 495: note that Klotz a.l. cites Pomp. G. L. V, 188, 13 *macte virtutis,* and that Th. Birt *Rh. Mus.* 77 (1928) pp. 199 f. explains *macte* in the phrase *macte esto* as originally as adverb. Wackernagel *Vorl. üb. Synt.* I (1926) p. 309 regards it as a Vocative with more probability.

P. 406, l. 8: note the use of *metuens futuri* in Hor. S. 2, 2, 110; Lucan 2, 223; *metuens* virgae in Juv. 7, 210; also that for *sciens* Jug. 85, 15 is cited instead of 85, 45; 32, a): note *te oblitus sum* Liv. Andr. frg. 4 (B), and for Petronius see Lease A.J.P. 21 (1901) p. 449.

P. 407, c: misereor, c. gen.: note Sil. 11, 379 *poenae indignae* and Min. Fel. *Oct.* 38 *eorum,* and that Commodianus II, 38, 3 has *miseratus egenis;* d, *compleo* c. gen.: revise statement in light of Schmalz § 102 and Kuehner II, 1, 467.

P. 408, l. 4, *egeo* with Gen.: in Livy, however, only used twice, elsewhere with the Abl. (M. Müller, crit. note to III, 28, 10); for its use in the Silver Age see Lease A.J.P. XXI, pp. 449 f.; l. 14, *opus est* c. gen. Altlat.: misleading, as Bennett cites none, Kühner II, 1, 388 and Schmalz citing only Lucilius 33; *refert:* see Lease A.J.P. 30, p. 338; in regard to *interest* also see Elmer *Lat. Gram.* (1928) p. 127 and *Class. Weekly* XX (1926) p. 62.

P. 410 Lit.: add Fay *Cl. Quart.* V (1911) pp. 185 f. and F. Solmsen " Zur Geschichte des Dativs i. d. indogerm. Spr." *Z. f. Sprach.* 44 pp. 61-123.

P. 412 *invideo:* Verg. however uses the Acc. (umbras) and Dat. in *Ecl.* 7, 58 and *Geo.* I, 503 (te) i. e. not " erst seit Verg.

Aen. 11, 42 ", not to mention an earlier use of the acc. in Accius
(cited by Bennett II, p. 212); at the end add: S. Wünsch
Rh. Mus. 49, 1 (cf. *Jahresb.* 1911 p. 103, No. 154) and Lease
A.J.P. 28, p. 52. Zusatz: note that the construction *nomen est*
is discussed by Gellius, and that he prefers the Nom., 4 (1, 2, 2;
11, 14; 5, 14, 10; 13, 2, 2) to the Dat. once (17, 21, 31), and
with *cognomentum* uses only the Nom., as 4, 3, 2; 17, 21, 6
(as Quint. 6, 1, 41). At end of II add Lindsay *Pl. Synt.* p. 22.

P. 417 Dat. iudicantis: also in Verg. Ecl. 2, 44 (tibi: ' in
your eyes', omitted by ALL 8, 51) and Tac. *Ann.* 1, 32, 7
coniectantibus (omitted on p. 54); Dat. auctoris: note Livy
22, 19, 12 *agmini intrabile* and Sen. *Ep.* 121, 22 *nulli imitabilis*
(cf. Hor. C. 1, 24, 10 nulli flebilior), and to Lit. add ALL 1,
603; 11, 594 and A. Green "The Dative of Agency" (Colum-
bia Univ. Press 1913).

P. 418 a) Dat. finalis: noteworthy: Nepos 4, 4, 6 and 23,
10, 6 *magno praemio; admirationi* in Sen. *Ep.* 33, 1; *incom-
modo* in Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 3, 7; *potui* datur in Celsus 2, 13;
3, 6; 5, 25, 3; Marc. Emp. 1, 52; 3, 8; 4, 27; 69; 6, 5. To
b), *frugi,* Lit.: add Lease A.J.P. 28, p. 46, ftn.

P. 426, 1. 6: but *assueto* is used earlier, Ovid *Her.* 6, 72.

P. 427, d: note *a te dignior* Ovid Her. 16, 98; A. A. 1, 139
proximus a domino, and note that Woelfflin in ALL 12, 384
rejects the view expressed in 7, 124; add also Pfister *Rh. Mus.*
68 (1912) pp. 159 f.

P. 428, e: note that M. Morgan "Addresses and Stud."
(1910) pp. 199 f. denies the Gen. of Comparison to Vitruvius.
f): note Ovid *Met.* 13, 587 *inferior omnibus* (cf. 360); *Pont.*
2, 76, 1; *nulli secundus* in Livy 23, 10, 7 and Vell. 2, 76, 1 and
to Lit. add Schmalz *Glotta* V (1910) p. 210.

P. 429, a: for the detailed usage of *misceo* see Lease A.J.P.
30, pp. 300 f.

P. 430 c): with *pluit* Livy uses the Abl. much more often
(29) than the Acc. (4): Lease A.J.P. 30, 304; *sudat:* the Abl.
is also used by Sil. 2, 455 and Florus 2, 8, 3 (both omitted by
Kühner II, 1, 334): *manare,* also by Livy and Lucan; *nutare,*
also by Verg. (G. I, 372; Aen. 3, 625) and Stat. (Th. 2, 337):
both omitted by Kühner l. c.)°.

P. 435 c: *potior* is used with 3 cases by Plt. (Lease A.J.P.

30, 305).; p. 436: Cato's use of the Acc. with *utor* (Agr. 118, 123, 142, 143, 157) should be noted.

P. 441, *dignus,* add: see Skutsch *Glotta* II pp. 151 f. and Morgan op. cit. pp. 214 f.; a) note *tota urbe* Cic. Att. 14, 8, 2 and compare note on *tota die* P. 382, l. 5 *supra.*

P. 443: note the striking preference of Val. Max. also: *gratia* 25, *causa* 12; *ergo:* note, however, that *ergo* is used but twice by Lucr. (3, 78; 5, 1246) and but once by Verg. (Aen. 6, 670), not at all by Hor. It is also used in the *Tab. Triumph.* 1, 11 (p. 55 B.). Instructive is Cic. *Fam.* 11, 22, 1 vel *humanitatis* tuae vel *mea* causa.

P. 445 γ) : note *multum improbriores* Plt. *Most.* 824 and Sil. 13, 708, and cf. Lease A.J.P. 21, 449 and 30, 301.

P. 447 Das Part. Fut. Akt. im Abl. abs. zuerst bei Pollio. dann bei Liv. 28, 15, 13; but see Lease A.J.P. 49, p. 353; it is also used by Val. Max. 1, 7, 3; Sil. 16, 232: Juv. 14, 59; Macrob. 1, 24, 15; and to Lit. add: Lease A.J.P. 40, p. 281.

P. 448 γ) Abl. abs. with Conjunctions: for corrections and additions see Lease A.J.P. 49 (1928) pp. 348 f. b) Subst. Part. Perf. Pass., " häufiger vor allem bei Liv. Curt. Tac.": however, Curt. is hardly worthy of such a distinction; and, too, it should be noted that Hor. uses *excepto quod* but once, l. c. Note also its use in Ovid *Pont.* 4, 14, 3 and Plin. min. 7, 32, 10; 8, 1, 1 (*exceptis qui Pont.* 1, 2, 136, as in Sall. *Jug.* 106, 3 (omitted by Kuehner II, 1, 773)), *cognito quod* Just. 32, 3, 14 and note Curt. 5, 13, 1 *audito* Dareum movisse (add to K. l. c. p. 779); and *pacto ut* Liv. 28, 21, 5. d), Nom. abs.: add, " im Vulgärlatein beliebt "; see Pfister Rh. M. 67, 206.

P. 458 d) : after Sen. insert Quint. (2, 17, 30; 35).

P. 489 b) : note that Verg., Hor. and Sen. phil. always use *nulli* instead of nemini, and that the " uä." before " erst seit Val. Max." needs, in view of Neue-W. II, pp. 524 f., clarification; that *nemo unus* was used 6 times by Livy (Drakenborch to 3, 12, 4 omits 38, 50, 8; Draeger I, p. 100 cites 9, 17 quilibet unus, and omits Plin. mai. 3, 1); *quisquam unus* is used 6 times (Draeger omitting 3, 55, 15; 39, 50, 2).

P. 493, Zusatz *ter novenae:* to be explained rather as a multiplication of mystic potencies.

P. 495 c) : note *ex ante diem* in Cic. *Att.* 3, 17, 1 and Livy

45, 2, 12, and *in ante diem* in Livy 41, 16, 5; 17, 5; 43, 16, 12; 45, 3, 2.

P. 503 *propius,* line two: insert " als Adj. oder Adv."; line three, insert Liv. (as 22, 45, 6), and note that Verg. uses the Dat. with *propius* (adv.) only 3 times (to Kuehner II, 1. 528 add Aen. 8, 556. Note that Liv. 44, 40, 4 now has the Acc.).

P. 504 *propter quod, quae:* more precisely " seit Liv." (as 23, 28, 3; 9, 44, 2); note *propter me* in Ov. *Her.* 3, 89 (bis), as in Cic. *Mil.* 58.

P. 506, line 7, *ob quae:* between Liv. and Tac. insert Celsus (pp. 12, 27; 116, 10; 206, 32 D.); *ob haec* Plin. mai. 18, 114; Curt. 9, 8, 24 and *ob id* Plin. mai. 16, 110; Curt. 4, 16, 7 etc.

P. 508 *ultra* " zeitliche ": should say seit Liv. (as 2, 19, 2).

P. 516: note that *praeter haec* is already found in Ter. *Ad.* 847.

P. 521, near end: note Cicero's use of *per iram* in Tusc. 4, 79 and compare Liv. 43, 11, 10 *per ambitionem* (" das Motiv ").

P. 522 b): note Bréal *Semantics* (1900) p. 19: " In an inscription of Misenum of the year 159 A. D. is written *per multo tempore* ".

P. 533 Kausales *prae:* used earlier by Liv. Andr. frg. 17 (B): frixit *prae pavore* cor. Note also its use in a positive clause, Liv. 6, 40, 1 *prae indignitate* defixisset.

P. 535 *Procul: procul dubio* already appears in Cato (Gell. 6, 7, 6); after "Enn. sc. 260 dann " insert Sat. 50 (*dubio procul*), Acc. (Gell. 3, 11, 5), and note that *dubio procul* was used by Florus 12, 8, 7 (but *p. dubio* in 2, 6, 50; 3, 28, 3), and that *procul dubio* is also used by Columella R. R. 3, 10, 9; Ammian. 16, 12, 33; see further Lease A.J.P. 21, p. 451.

P. 536 *Tenus:* with Cic. Arat. *lumborum* compare Verg. G. 3, 53 crurum, noting also that Verg. (Wetmore) uses *tenus* with the Gen. twice (also A. 10, 210), but the Abl. 4 times (A. 1, 737; 2, 533; 3, 427; 10, 536), and Hor. *tenus* only once (C. 1, 15, 16, with Abl.). " Limitierendes in ": with persons, already in Plaut. (e. g. Mil. 673. Most. 1116), and in Ter. as early as *Anā.* 233; compare also Cic. *Pomp.* 58; 61 and *Cat.* 4, 12: Caes. *B. G.* 2, 32, 2: Ovid *Am.* 3, 3, 40.

P. 541 *Clam:* the statements here made need revision; compare Kuehner II, 1, p. 511 and II, 2, p. 636; Riemann-Ernout

Synt. Lat. (1927) p. 210; Schmalz *Antib.* (1905) s. v. Clam; Lindsay, *Lat. Lang.* p. 580, and Munro to Lucr. I, 476.

P. 556, 150. a Lit.: add Lease A.J.P. XL (1919) pp. 270-277 for a more extended discussion.

P. 561, *Habeo* mit Part. Perf. Pass.: note Servius to Verg. *Aen.* VI, 156: *defixa habens,* and Frontinus *Str.* 3, 5, 1 *exploratum* habens; Livy 21, 43, 6 congestum *possident;* 26, 11, 7 captum *possideret.*

P. 568 Lit.: for a much more comprehensive treatment of *neve* and *neque* see Lease A.J.P. 34, pp. 268 f. and 418 f.; p. 569 Zusätze: note also *ut infelicent* Stat. Caec. 114 (R) ; Quint. 1, 2, 6 utinam . . . non ipsi perderemus; 11, 9, 3 utinam non . . . aut ne quid esset; Ovid *Met.* 13, 14 utinam . . . nec umquam venisset; *Her.* 7, 140 vellem tetulisset nec fuisset.

P. 572 α) : note that with *forsitan* Ovid uses the Indic. (39) almost as often the Subj. (45) ; Indic.: Sen. *Suas.* 7, 2; *Contr. Exc.* 5, 6; so also with *forsan* in *Her.* 20, 168; *Tr.* 1, 1, 35, as later Lucan 9, 63; Calpurn. 3, 41; Val. Fl. 2, 151; Stat. Silv. 1, 3, 62; 2, 6, 101; 104; 3, 4, 10; Mart. 4, 4, 13; 7, 68, 2; 10, 75, 7; 12, 5, 4; and so, too, with *fortassis* A. A. 1, 665. Compare also *forsitan* with Plpf. Subj. Stat. *Theb.* 6, 52, and *forsan Theb.* 1, 428. Note also *forsitan mutanda* in Fronto p. 130, 2 (N), and Ammian. 16, 7, 4 *forsitan non credenda;* see further Lease A.J.P. 28 pp. 45 f.; 36, p. 80 ftn.; Elmer *Cl. Weekly* 20 (1926) pp. 69 f., Frank H. Fowler C. W. 11 (1918) pp. 161 f.; 169 f.

P. 574 *ne . . . nec:* for Cat. 61, 128 read 61, 122 and note that here Cornish (Loeb Cl. 1912) reads ne . . . neu; note the earlier usage of Plt. and Ter. (Lease A.J.P. 34 pp. 265 f.; 274 f.; 422 f.), of *ne . . . neve* (neu) in Cato and Plt. Note the striking increase of the shorter form *nec* over *neque* with the Imperative and Subj. in principal clauses from 37.0% in Early Latin to 93.8% in Class. Lat. to 99.6% in Silver Lat. i. e. 250 to one (pf. Quint. 1, 4, 13). Compare note to P. 692 *infra.*

P. 575, a) *ut puta:* to Blase *H. G.* p. 250 add Sen. *Ep.* 47, 15; Quint. 7, 1, 14: Quint. Decl. p. 349, 18 (R); Apul. *Phil.* p. 191, 23 (T) ; Serv. to *Aen.* 12, 519; Mart. Capella 481, 544, 758, 765 (Dick). b) : note that " ne mit Imper. Praes." is used 26 times by Vergil, 28 by Ovid; " non beim Imper. Praes.": here but 3 passages are cited (i. e. as in Blase and in

Schmalz), but Kuehner II, 1, p. 203 cites Ovid also (*Her.* 17, 164). Note that in all these examples *non* is rather a word negative than a clause negative, as also in Sen. H. F. 585 and Calpurn. 5, 24 (cited by Clement A.J.P. 21, p. 168) and as in Ovid *Tr.* 5, 5, 63. Note also Cato, PLM 3: Non suggere.

P. 579, a): *maior videri:* after Hor. (C. 4, 2, 59) insert Ovid (*Met.* 7, 639; 9, 269); note also Hor. C. 4, 8, 8 *sollers ponere;* Ovid *A. A.* 1, 358 *apta capi, Met.* 7, 380 *servari nescius.* Lit.: add Lease A.J.P. 30, 299. b): note Acc. 290 tempus *revorti* and Ter. *Phorm.* 885 *occasio adimere.* P. 580 A: note Cato *Agr.* 89 *bibere dato,* Fannius *Ann.* VIII frg. (p. 87 P) *biber dari,* Livy 40, 47, 5 *bibere dari;* compare *potui datur,* note to P. 418 a) *supra* and P. 595 B) *infra.* B): note the Inf. with *persuadeo* Nepos 10, 3, 3; *suadeo* Auct. Her. 3, 8; *moneo* Sal. *Cat.* 52, 3; *Jug.* 19, 2; and p. 581 C): with *opto* Livy 9, 14, 15; *deterreo* Cic. *Verr.* 1, 24; Bell. Afr. 29, 5; 71, 3; Livy 42, 3, 3; Curt. 10, 1, 2; *recuso:* cf. Lease A.J.P. 30, 307.

P. 585 Acc. c. Inf., with *opto,* possibly Livy 21, 42, 2; *pacis-cor* 34, 23, 7; *persuadeo* in Livy (2, 2, 7; 3, 21, 7; 5, 45, 1; 10, 28, 3; 33, 32, 3; 42, 42, 5); *precor:* already in Tib. 2, 5, 4; later in Val. Fl. 7, 353 also; *rogo:* already in Cat. 35, 10, Ovid A. A. 1, 453. P. 586 l. 9: *abnuo* already in Lucr. 3, 641; Cic. *Leg.* 1, 40; B: *cerno* already in Plt. and Titin.; cf. Bennett I, p. 372; p. 587 c): *vereor:* Plt. *Mil.* 1285; Livy 2, 7, 9.

P. 590 a) Infin. indignantis, according to ALL 6, 101 and Kuehner II, 1, 721 in Livy only once (9, 11, 12): but it is also found in 3, 58, 2; 67, 1; 24, 26, 6.

P. 595 Lit.: add T. Persson " De Orig. ac. vi prim. Gerundii et Gerundivi ", 1900; ALL 15, 56 and 351 f. B) Gerundivum nach *do:* in the medicinal sphere, as in Marc. Emp. *do* is used 100 times with the Gdve., with *potui* (Dat.) 70, and with the Infin. only 6 times.

P. 596 b) Genitivendung -*orum* and -*arum:* Draeger II, 830 cites no examples from Caesar, but for -*orum* see B. G. 3, 6, 2; 7, 43, 3; B. C. 1, 4, 2; 15, 4; 2, 42, 5; 3, 24, 1; 31, 4: and ⁓⁓ B. C. 4, 22, 1; in Cic. with *-arum,* as *Att.* 3, 7, 3; *Fam.* 27; 30; *Sest.* 56; 98. Gen. Ger. with Obj. Acc. " mehrfach bei Plt." (as Schmalz): but only 7 times (7 in Ter.); see Bennett I, 448. It is used by Pollio (*Fam.* 10, 33, 5), by

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Brutus (*Fam.* 11, 2, 3). Dativ nur bei Plt. (Epid. 605) u. ö.: but the "u. ö." is only two more (Bennett I, 449). Der Abl. also used by Livy (Praef. 7; 1, 8, 4; 20, 6; 38, 4 etc.). Note Livy 27, 38, 9 eligendi quos vellet, and 28, 19, 2 prodendis qui perfugerant.

P. 599 Akkusativ: say bei Plt. und Ter. etc. Note *circa apparatum visendum* in Liv. 29, 22, 3; *ad rem potiendam* in 27, 15, 9.

P. 601 Lit. add ALL 11, 103 f.; Knapp A.J.P. 32, 29. Zweite Supin: not so frequent in Plt. (19) and Ter. (7) as the Erste Supin, Plt. 130, Ter. 27 (Bennett I, pp. 443 f.). "Aus Cato ist nichts belegt": note, however, Schmalz p. 466, Anmerk. 1 and Kuehner I, 1, p. 724, 3. Note also *risu mirabile* Ambrose *Off.* III, 17, 100.

P. 603 Zusätze α): *quamquam:* note that Quint. should precede Tac. and that this usage is found in poetry also, as Lucan 4, 667; 5, 537 etc.; *quamvis:* earlier in Prop. 1, 8, 37; 15, 13 (fut. part.) and Ovid *Met.* 2, 368; *quasi* with fut. part., also Scr. Hist. Aug. 12, 8, 1; *velut* with perf., earlier in Ov. *Met.* 1, 483 and with fut. in Sen. *Suas.* 6, 16; *forsan* with perf. Lucan 8, 856 and with fut. Stat. *Silv.* 2, 3, 63, *forsitan et* Just. 24, 7, 3, *fortasse* Aug. *Conf.* p. 113, 21 (Kn.); *tamquam* also in Sen. Ep. 46, 1; 59, 14; 70, 17; 98, 5; Dial. 5, 3, 6. Note *ut* with fut. in Sen. *Suas.* 6, 17; Celsus 109, 12; Veg. 3, 1. For the use of these and other particles with the Abl. abs. see Lease A.J.P. 49 (1928) pp. 348 f., and for a discussion of the Pollio passage (Hofmann p. 447 and p. 606 end) see *op. cit.* p. 353; note that in his latter passage the order should be Ovid, Livy, Val. Max. Curt. Sil. Tac. (as *Her.* 18, 112; *Met.* 3, 471; Val. Max. 9, 3, Ext. 3; Sil. 16, 232).

P. 640, b *nec = non:* note Livy 1, 25, 11 qui nec procul erat; *necdum* (et non dum) Liv. 42, 34, 12; 43, 1, 3; *nec* (ne . . . quidem): see Lease A.J.P. 30, 302; *nec . . . quidem:* used by Cic. *Fam.* 12, 1, 1; Quint. 9, 3, 55; *Decl.* 331, 8; 335, 11 (R). Cf. Gudeman *Dial.* p. 288.

P. 648 *-ne:* note that Sen. phil. regularly omits *-ne* (in prose used only twice (*Dial.* 13, 12, 6; *Clem.* 1, 9, 10), but in poetry he attaches it 30 times), and note that Sen. rhet. does not use *nonne* at all (*non* simply: at least 10 times). Hor., however, uses it only 4 times (Cooper), 3 of these being in the formula

Nonne vides ut, but on the contrary Sen. phil. always uses *non
vides* (exc. *Ep.* 87, 20).

P. 649 Zusatz, *nonne:* the exception in early Lat. (Bennett I,
p. 472 citing but 31 examples, of which 15 are in Plt., 12 in Ter.,
and all before a vowel, exc. 3 in Ter. (*And.* 239, 747, 869));
numnam: more exactly " nur Plt. und Ter." (see Bennett p.
474); *numne:* also found in (Auson.) p. 430, 5 (P); Boethius
Herm. Sec. p. 46 (M). Note also that the 3 examples in Prud.
are all read by I. Bergman (*Prud.* 1926) and are corroborated by
Glossemata de Prud. (Burnham 1905, p. 92).

P. 655 *Namque* bei Dichtern: appears already in Acc. Frg.
180 (R); see also Lease A.J.P. 30, 302.

P. 656, line 16: should say: *sehr* selten an *a:* note its use in
Ovid *Her.* 21, 180; *Met.* 3, 631; note *eque* Verg. *Ecl.* 7, 13;
Ovid *Met.* 5, 634; *adque* Val. Max. 3, 7, 3. Zusätze a), " s.
Weissenborn zu Liv. 1, 55, 6 ": but here W. merely cites the
passages cited by Draeger H. S. II, p. 80, omitting 29, 21, 4,
and both D. and W. omit 26, 33, 13. P. 657 *hodieque* s. Schmalz
Antib. I, 654: see, however, Lease A.J.P. 30, p. 48. Note also
its use in Sen. *Contr.* 1, 1, 15; Val. Max. 7, 8, 10; Vell. 2, 61,
3; 98, 1; Suet. *Tib.* 14, 3; *De Poet.* 3; *Vir.* III, 104; Lud.
Hist. p. 341 (R); Plac. to Stat. *Theb.* 12, 64; and Script.
Hist. Aug. (14 times: 1, 3, 6; 3, 1, 9; 4, 12, 12 etc.).

P. 659 a) *atque non:* but see also Lease A.J.P. 30 (1909) for
omissions in the Thes. Note also Gell. 17, 21, 46, where *non*
modifies *nimium,* as in Hor. C. 2, 18, 40, *vocatus.*

P. 663 *nec . . . neve* bei Dichtern: but also in prose, as
Apul. *Met.* 7, 5 (p. 158, 8 Helm), and Livy 25, 9, 4: monuit
irent nec . . . neu facerent (" Verg." (cited by Schmalz p. 498
and Kuehner II, 1, 194) should not be included, as latest texts
(G. 3, 435) read ne . . . neu (cf. 3, 80; 2, 253)); and note
that Petron. 5 has *nec . . . nec . . . neve,* Tib. 1, 1, 38 has
neu . . . nec, Sil. 2, 700 has audite *neu . . . nec;* see Lease
A.J.P. 34 (1913) pp. 264 and 273. Note that " Friedländer
z. St." needs revision: 6, 282 has *ut* faceres tu *nec non* ego
possim; 150: *non habeat . . . accessiat . . . et non;* 14, 201
should read: pares *nec . . .* subeant *neu* credas.

P. 664 *interdum . . . interdum:* also in Celsus (3, 24;
4, 4; 12; 5, 28, passages omitted by ALL 2, 244).

P. 670 *verum enim vero:* after Sall. (line 6) insert Liv.

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(uses it 6 times; see Draeger 2, 130, H. J. Mueller to 4, 4, 9, Luterbacher to 29, 8, 7, adding 39, 4, 8).

P. 679 *Namque* vor Konsonanten: also in Naev. (Tr. frg. 41 R), in Enn.: also in *Ann.* 575 and *Var.* 7; and Caec. Frg. 278 R. (Note that Kuehner II, 2, 113 "an zweiter Stelle" cites 5 for Vergil adding thereto "u. ö.": there are only 3 more (A. 8, 497; 10, 401; 815), and for Prop. cites 2, omitting 2, 21, 12; see Lease A.J.P. 30 (1909), 302; 36 (1915), 83 f.). Note, too, that while "vor allem seit Verg." is true for *namque* in poetry (as Verg. 66, Hor.16, Prop. 9), relatively to the number of pages of text Nepos (with 69) uses it 3 times as often. And whereas Nepos always uses *namque* 1st (before *cons.* 6), Verg. places it 1st 53 times, 2nd 13; Hor. 1st 15, 2nd 1 (S. 1, 6, 57); Prop. 1st 6, 2nd 3; Tac. 1st 50, 2nd 4 (Ann. 1, 5; 2, 43; 4. 21; *Dial.* 19); correct *Antibarbarus* (1907) II, 120.

P. 681 *Etenim:* though used 21 times by Lucr. was used only 6 times by Hor., once by Verg., once by Prop., twice by Nepos, 3 times by Vell. Note, too, that of the 17 postpositive in Lucr. all are *quippe etenim* (exc. 3, 288; 5, 632); in Hor.: always postpos. exc. Sat. 2, 7, 37, and once in Parenthesis (S. 1, 7, 10); Verg.: A. 7, 390 1st; Prop.: 2, 7, 17 2nd; Nepos 8, 2, 2; 18, 3, 4 1st; Vell.: 2, 102 (parenth.); 121, 1; 127, 1, all 1st.

P. 683 *Igitur:* note also that *igitur* was used only 3 times by Verg. (Wetmore), only 6 times by Hor. (Cooper), and only in his Satires, and only 4 times by Prop., and that in these three poets it is only postpositive, that in the total 13 all are in questions exc. Verg. *Ecl.* 7, 18; Hor. S. 2, 3, 152; Prop. 1, 8, 41 (also used in 2, 6, 37; 8, 17; 9, 17).

P. 686 *Nec non et:* this strange combination [4] was introduced by Vergil (using it 16 times), then taken up by Ovid (4), Columella (1), Lucan (3), Plin. mai. (36), Statius (3), Sil. (6), Quint. (1), Juv. (3), Suet. (4), Florus (2), Justin (4), Apul. (3), Commodianus (3), Ausonius (1), Prudentius (8), Claudianus (4), Macrob. (4), Marc. Emp. (21), Orosius Adv. Pag. (1), and in Eccles. and Juristic Latin. This formula

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[4] See especially Kübler ALL 8, 181, 297, 448 (*Aen.* 1, 786 cited for 1, 748), and Lease ALL 10, 390; A.J.P. 21, 452; 30, 302; 38, 80 and Class. Rev. 13, 130.

reaches its climax in Plin. mai. and Marc. Emp., probably owing to Vergil's [5] influence.

Nec non etiam: introduced by Varro R. R. 1, 1, 6 (v. l. et) ; 2, 1, 22; 10, 9 (for which Kübler cites 23, 10, 9) ; 3, 16, 26, as also *neque non etiam* R. R. 3, 3, 4; L. L. 10, 35, followed by Verg. *Geo.* 2, 413 and much later by Ael. Spart. 9. 8 and by Capella (Dick) 1, 17; 48.

P. 689 *sino:* after Plt. insert Ter., Cato, Caec. (noted by Bennett 1, 235).

P. 690 *prohibeo ne* is, however, used only 4 times by Livy (M. Mueller to 1, 39, 5 and H. J. M. to 24, 43, 4) ; so, too, *impedio ne:* only 4 times in Livy (Draeger II, 294).

P. 691. Note that in Plt. and Ter. (Bennett 1, 254) *ut* is used twice as often (8) after *metuo* as *ne non* (4), and that with *vereor* only *ut* is used (Ter.: 4). In Cicero, however, *vereor* is followed 25 times by *ne non,* by *ut* only 17 (i. e. positive: *ne, non* 16 (Or. 2, Phil. 3, Ep. 9, Rhet. 2), *ut* 14 (Or. 5, Phil. 0, Ep. 8, Rhet. 1) ; negative: *ne non* 9 (Or. 4, Phil. 1, Ep. 4, Rhet. 0), *ut* 3 (Or. 2, Phil. 1)) ; to Brinker *N. Jahrb.* 1896, p. 367 (cited by Schmalz *Antib.* (1907)) add for *ne non* positive, Att. 7, 12, 2; negative, Fam. 11, 28, 8; for *ut* positive, Att. 8, 11B, 1 and to the 2 examples of *ne non* with *timeo* pos., Cael. 66; and note that with *metuo* only *ne non* is used, the most frequent negative with *vereor,* also that *vereor ne nihil* is used in Att. 14, 12, 1; 16, 3; 22, 1 (Kuehner (1914) II, 252 omits these two, and for *ne non* cites but one in Att., p. 253: add 2, 19, 3; 13, 9, 2; 48, 1; 15, 3, and for *ut:* 7, 17, 2; 6, 17; 8, 11 B. 1).

P. 692, line 13, "oben a. O.": should say S. 574; p. 693, line 8, "Lease Class. Ph. 3, 302 ff.": but here, as Schmalz p. 515 noted, only Livy's usage is discussed. Accordingly cite

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[5] See Verg. G. 1, 212 etc. (see Wetmore) ; Ovid *Met.* 1, 613; 7, 432; 8, 749; 15, 427; Col. R. R. 8, 156; Lucan 3, 516; 7, 56; 10, 486; Stat. *Ach.* 1, 923; Th. 2, 371; 6, 442; Sil. 2, 432; 7, 86; 9, 66; 11, 111; 225; 277; Quint. 9, 4, 25; Juv. 3, 204; 9, 88; 10, 51; Suct. *Cal.* 40; *Vesp.* 8; *Tit.* 5; *Dom.* 14; Auson. *Ecl.* 18, 4; Flor. 2, 2, 2; 3, 5, 29; Apul. (Helm) Met. 200, 4; 282, 6; Flor. 22, 2; Prud. (Lease Prud. p. 53) ; Claud. *Epith. Hon.* 159; *Bell. Goth.* 558; *Rapt. Pros.* 1, 266; 3, 14; Macrob. 1, 19, 2; 4, 6, 10; 6, 4, 23; 7, 2, 6; Oros. 5. 10. 7.

instead Lease A.J.P. 34 (1913) pp. 256-275; 418-436, as being later and much more extensive in its scope. " *Ut neque . . . neque* seltener *ut neve . . . neve,* C. F. W. Müller zu Cic. off. S. 31. 83 ": in general *ut neque-neque* is far more frequently used (175 times) than *ut neve-neve* (4 times), and in Cicero, instead of being used ' 3 times as often ' (Müller p. 83) is used 13 times as often (52 to 4) ! Note that in Early Latin in Final Clauses there is little choice (5 and 7), but in Class. Lat. *ut-neve* is used much oftener (40 to 27), and in Silver Lat. there is again not much difference (*ut-neque:* 26, *ut-neve:* 23); and note that there is an increase of *ut-nec* over *ut-neque:* Early Lat. represented by 18%, Cl. Lat. by 35.7%, Silver Lat. by 76.7% ! Compare the usage in Principal Clauses, note to P. 574 *supra.*

P. 696 Indirekte Fragen: note that Cicero uses *Haud scio an* 46 times (Or. 12, Ph. 23, Rh. 5, Ep. 6), *haud sciam an* 6 times (Ph. 2, Rh. 4), *nescio an* 15 (Or. 4, Ph. 4, Rh. 2, Ep. 5; also Dolabella *Fam.* 9, 9, 2; Caecina *Fam.* 6, 7, 3), *haud sciam an* being used in De Or. 1, 255; 2, 18; 72; 209. Note also that none of these formulae is used by Verg., and Hor. uses only *nescio an* (Sat. 2, 3, 83); that Cicero uses *haud scio an* with the Plpf. Subj. in Brut. 151; Plin. mai. 8, 167 uses it with the Abl. Abs. (compare *nescio an oculis visuris* in Plin. min. 7, 19, 4 and modifying *difficiliorem* in Sen. Ep. 108, 16, and similar uses of *forsitan, quamvis, licet* etc.).

P. 698, Paragraph two, end: " Weissenborn zu 9, 23, 4 ": a better reference is Friedersdorff zu 27, 47, 3 (p. 97), showing that the rarest is *-ne* (9), but not used in the 4th Decade. *Utrumne . . . an:* in Hor. found earlier in *Sat.* 2, 3, 251. Insert after Curt.: Col. (11, 1, 5), after Mart.: Gell. (17, 7, 3) and Quint. *Decl.* (261 (p. 70, 4)).

P. 702 Perf. for Impf. " seit Liv.": Woelfflin-Lut. (1883) to 23, 19, 17 cites Caes. B. G. 1, 51, 1.

P. 713 *Utpote qui:* note also *Mil. Gl.* 530 and Brix [4] *ad loc.,* and to the one occurrence of the Ind. in Val. Max. cited by Draeger II, p. 536 add 7, 8, 1. *Quippe qui* with the Ind.: also in Ter. H. T. 538, also " am Versschluss ". Note that Cic. uses *quippe qui* 29 times (Or. 2, Ph. 21, *De Or.* 3, 74, Ep. 5), and that Apul. (*Ascl.* 15 and 37) also uses the Subj. • *Ut qui* " erst seit Cic. Phil. 9, 17 dann Liv. 7, 14, 6 ": but Cic. uses it ear-

lier in *Fam.* 5, 18, 2 and Livy has four earlier (cited by Draeger
p. 537) ; and, too, after Vell. should be inserted Plin. mai. (15,
45; 16, 51; 25, 85 (for which Draeger cites 15, 85)), all with
the Subj. Particularly noteworthy is Ovid *Ibis* 371 f., where
. *ut qui* is used 10 times with the Ind., and later in 453, 484,
495, 498. *Ut ubi* Liv. 38, 21, 14: but earlier in 26, 46, 2
(cited by Dr. p. 537, for which Kuehner II, 2, p. 293 cites
6, 46, 2) ; for " Sen." read Sen. phil. (as *D.* 3, 11, 3). See
Lease A.J.P. 20, 63; 30, 309; 36, 84 and Steele 27, pp. 56 f.
and compare notes to P. 752 *infra*.

P. 722 *Utpote quod:* also in Plt. *Bacch.* 511; *ob hoc:* in
Livy 25, 37, 16 etc.; *ob haec:* 8, 23, 8; 28, 39, 13; *ob id:* 25,
13, 7; *ob ea:* 40, 1, 5; *ob quae:* 5, 31, 6.

P. 724 *Praeterquam quod:* earlier in Ter. *And.* 753; " oft
Cic. Liv.": much more appropriate for Liv. (60) than Cic.
(10): Or. 2, Ph. 3, Rh. 1 (Inv. 2, 62), Ep. 4. *Superquam quod*
" 22, 3, 14 al.": but " al." means only 27, 20, 10 (Friedersdorff
(1881) *ad loc.* and Draeger II, p. 233).

P. 725 *Quia:* " Hor. nur 3mal in carm.": but all in Bk. IV
(32 in Sat. and Epist.) ; not so frequent as *quod* (123), but
oftener than *quoniam* (4) : from Cooper *op. cit.* Livy shows a
remarkable preference for *quia* (744) ; *quod* (714) follows, then
quoniam (108), according to Steele A.J.P. 27, 57.

P. 727 b) *non quia:* found earlier in Hor. *Sat.* 1, 6, 1 (else-
where, *Ep.* 2, 1, 76; *nec quia Ep.* 1, 8, 6).

P. 732 *Supra quam:* in Cic. also found in Top. 39 (cited by
Kuehner II, 2, 460) and N. D. 2, 136 (cited by Draeger II,
p. 649). Note also that Verg. shows a slight preference for
haud aliter (8) over *non aliter* (7), and for *haud secus* (8)
over *non secus* (5) ; that Verg. says *non* aliter quam (*Aen.* 4,
669), but Ovid says *haud* aliter quam (*Met.* 8, 762; 11, 330) ;
that Ovid says *non* aliter quam *cum* (*Met.* 3, 373; 4, 348;
6, 516; Fast. 2, 209) but *haud* a. q. *cum* (*Met.* 10, 594; 15,
553: cf. Liv. 1, 31, 2) ; that haud secus *ac* appears in Verg.
Aen. 3, 236; 11, 456; Ovid *Met.* 9, 40, but haud secus *quam*
in Ovid *Met.* 12, 102 a favorite collocation in Livy (28). Cf.
nec secus quam 5, 43, 8; 28, 3, 12; see Friedersdorff Liv. 28,
p. 118, but for 3, 28, 2 read 3, 23, 2; for 22, 53, 10 read 22,
53, 13; for 28, 15, 16 read 28, 15, 6; for 39, 32, 10 read 39, 31,

10; for 42, 49, 2 read 42, 59, 2), but *non* secus ac in Verg.
Geo. 3, 346; Aen. 8, 391; 12, 756, Hor. A. P. 149.

P. 735: note, however, that Vergil (Wetmore) uses the
"metrisch unbequem" *antequam* oftener (16) than *priusquam*
(12), including 4 of each in the *Carm. Min.*, with the compo-
nent parts always in different lines, except: *ante . . . quam*
Cul. 135; *prius . . . quam* Geo. 1, 50; Aen. 1, 192; 11, 809;
Dirae 7; and *prius quam* G. 3, 468; A. 1, 472; 6, 328; that
Hor. uses *antequam* twice (to the *Thes. L. L.* add Sat. 2, 3,
135), *priusquam* once (Ep. 5, 79 f.); Catull. has *prius . . .
quam* 64, 91; 189; Prop. uses *a. . . . q.* 2, 12, 11 and *p. . . .
q.* 2, 25, 6; that Vell. uses *antequam* but once and *priusquam*
but once (in 1, 7, 3; 2, 42, 3), and prefers *ante . . . quam*
(23 times) to *prius . . . quam* (once: 1, 10, 2); that a simi-
lar preference is shown by Celsus: 13 to 1 (7, 2), Sen *Dial.,
Ep.:* 56-5, Plin. min. 17-3, and in contrast thereto stands Marc.
Emp. 13-10; Quint. 13-12; Veget. 11-10 and Macrob. 10-10.
Note also that in Florus as in Verg. neither conjunction appears
as one word, that the Infin. is used with them in Vell. 2, 24, 4;
129, 3 and Florus 4, 2, 22; 63, and the Imperative in Sen. *Ep.*
17, 8. (Perf. Ind.: to the 14 cited for Plt. by Bennett add 5
(Ep. 46; Mo. 221; Po. 416; Rud. 1131; 1168), to the 2 cited
for Ter. add 3 (And. 968; Hec. 541; 744); and Fut. Perf.:
to Kuehner II, 2, 369 add Cic. Att. 14, 9, 6; 16, 15, 6). Fur-
thermore, note *ante . . . quam* with Pres. Part. in Livy 3, 51,
13; 7, 35, 5; 21, 14, 4; 24, 18, 12; 42, 7, 8 and *prius . . .
quam:* 5, 7, 7; 8, 14, 6 and Florus 4, 12, 37, and for the use
of these conjunctions with the Abl. Abs. see Lease A.J.P. 49,
p. 350, adding thereto Plin. mai. 8, 144 (priusquam). *Postea-
quam:* read Cic. *Fam.* 3, 6, 2; *anteaquam* nur bei Liv.: see
Cic. Dei. 30; Fam. 3, 6, 2 (cited by Kuehner p. 366) parts
separated.

P. 737 *Etsi,* "Quint., der etsi meidet": a statement found
in numerous quarters, probably originally due to the fact that
Bonnell *Lex. Quint.* (1834) omits *etsi.* However, Quint. uses
etsi at least 8 times, as was first pointed out by the writer in
C. R. 13 (1899) p. 130 and later in A.J.P. XX (1899), p. 63
and XXI (1901) p. 454. Accordingly note: *etiamsi,* used 30
times, *etsi* 8, *tametsi* 5. Moreover, Hofmann on p. 781 has:
"Quint. (nur 5mal, s. Gabler 82)". Note that Claudianus

(Platnauer) also does not use *quamquam* (concessive) at all (unless *In Ruf.* 2, 252 (c. subj.) be so interpreted) over against *quamvis* (25) and *licet* (15). See also Lease A.J.P. 30, 306 and note *quamquam dictus* in Hor. C. 2, 19, 25; compare my note to P. 603 *supra. Quamquam* corrective ('and yet'): insert Verg. *Aen.* 5, 195; 11, 415; Hor. *Serm.* 1, 1, 24; 2, 2, 41 and add its use in Claud. *In Ruf.* 2, 512; *Cons. Stil.* II, 293; *Bell. Goth.* 104.

P. 738 *Quamvis* with the Indicative: in Verg. *Ecl.* 3, 84 (Fairclough *Virg.* (1916)); in Ovid oftener with Ind. (56) than Subj. (50), and so, too, in Celsus with Ind. 25 times to Subj. 6, but Stat. has the Ind. but 4 times (*Silv.* 3, 2, 52; *Th.* 4, 741; 6, 272; 7, 250); Prop. and Suet., only 3 each (1, 18, 13; 2, 24, 38; 3, 19, 30; *Tib.* 68, 4; *Vesp.* 15; *Dom.* 19, 2); see Lease A.J.P. 30, 306 also. Zusatz b) *Licet:* this milder, gracious concessive is expanded into *licebit:* Hor. Sat. 2, 2, 59; Ep. 15, 19; Ovid *Am.* 2, 11, 53; *Met.* 2, 58; 8, 755; *Trist.* 5, 14, 3; Sen. Ep. 28, 4; Lucan, 7, 855 as in Martial 8, 21, 11 etc.; at foot of page say Tib. 1, 7, 40 or 2, 4, 45, but not 3, 19, 13, and say *vor allem* Mart. (54), Ovid (46), Juv. (21). Note that *licet* also is used with the Plpf. Subj. by Lact. Plac. to *Theb.* 3, 118 (cf. *quamvis* in Verg. *Ecl.* 6, 50, by Serv. to *Aen.* 3, 279; 8, 646; Macrob. 1, 7, 4; and with the Indic. also, as in Ammian. 16, 10, 11; 18, 1, 3; 19, 3, 3 etc. and Macrob. 1, 11, 42. Of the Augustan poets *licet* (conj.) is most frequently used by Ovid (46), Prop. (16), Verg. (3: A. 6, 802; 11, 348; 440); Hor. (3: S. 1, 2, 81; C. 3, 24, 3; Ep. 4, 5), and Tib. (3: 1, 2, 67; 7, 42; 2, 4, 45; also 3, 9, 17; 19, 13; Pan. Mess. 190). Comparing these three conjunctions: note Sen. *Epist.* quamquam: 5; quamvis: 40; licet: 37; but Quint., Quamquam: 96; quamvis: 24; licet: 20; Claudianus, quam‐quam: 2; quamvis: 25; licet: 15; Marc. Emp., quamquam: 2; quamvis: 16; licet: 3. See also Lease A.J.P. 36 (1915) p. 84, and for these conjunctions with the Abl. Abs., 49 (1928) pp. 349 f.

P. 744 c) *Dum* = 'bis': used more often by Verg. (8: impf. subj. 1, 7, 5; 2, 136; 10, 800) than by Hor. (1: C. 1, 1, 20 pr. subj.); 'so long as': in Verg. only twice (E. 6, 76; A. 9, 448, fut. ind.). in Hor. 3 times (S. 1, 1, 52 pr. subj.: 4, 118 pr. ind.; Ep. 15, 7 impf. subj.), also Lucr. 1, 434; Catull.

55, 22; 114, 5 and 6; and p. 745 d) *dum* = dummodo: used
once by Verg. (A. 11, 792), 4 times by Hor. (S. 1, 6, 8; C. 1,
16, 26; 3, 3, 7; Ep. 2, 2, 127); and also in Lucr. 1, 435; *dum
ne* "mehrfach Hor.": but only twice, S. 1, 1, 40; 2, 3, 31
(Draeger II, 76 cites none, Kuehner II, 2, 447 cites one), and
also used by Ovid *Her.* 3, 81; *Met.* 10, 318; Livy 2, 41, 7; 44,
45, 4; *dum tamen:* found earlier in Lucr. 2, 657; *modo ne:*
also Ovid *Met.* 13, 135; Livy 9, 34, 15 etc.; *tantum ne:* already
in Ovid *Am.* 3, 8, 59 (cited by Draeger II, p. 63).

P. 752 Kausales *cum* mit Ind.: already appears in Gellius,
as 2, 29, 1; see Knapp A.J.P. 32, 29. Note that Cicero prefers
quippe cum (13: Or. 2, Ph. 9, Att. 10, 3 a, 1; Brut. 69) to
utpote cum (3: Att. 5, 8, 1; 7, 13, 3; 16, 11, 2), and so, too,
does Florus (19-0). *Quippe cum* Liv. 4, 24, 8 al.: Kuehner
II, 2, 347 cites but two occurrences, the above and 4, 57, 10 and
adds "u. ö.", but there are only two more: 26, 39, 9; 28, 45, 4;
see Steele A.J.P. 27, p. 57.

P. 753 *Quoniam:* used by Livy 108 times (Ind. 46, Subj.
62: either formal or informal *O. O.* (Steele pp. 54 f.), and
whereas Verg. uses *quoniam* 15 times (Wetmore) Hor. uses it
only 3 times and only in the Satires (Cooper).

P. 754 *Donec:* Verg. uses *donec* 18 times (ALL 11, 336:
"im ganzen an 8 St."!), *quoad*, not at all; Hor.: 17 times,
quoad once (S. 2, 3, 91). *Donec* 'bis' with Fut. I in Verg.
only Aen. 1, 273, in Hor. only C. 3, 6, 2; Fut. II, Verg. only
A. 2, 719, in Hor. only S. 1, 5, 96. Prud. *uses* donec 'until' 7
times, 'as long as' once (Lease *Prud.* p. 40); Marc. Emp.
greatly prefers *donec* (120) to *dum* (25), the former always
with the pres. subj., the latter always with the pres. ind. Lit.:
add ALL 15, 418 f., AJP 31, 268.

P. 758, Temporal *ut:* relatively most frequent in Curt.,
Petron., and Suet. (Steele A.J.P. 31, 273); p. 759 *ut primum*
bei Hirt. und Sall. nur je 2mal": as Jones cites only one of
each, the others ought to be cited; "häufig bei Suet. Apul.":
but in Suet. *ut. pr.* 5, *cum pr.* 5, *ubi pr.* 0 and in Apul. *ut. pr.*
11, *cum pr.* 12, *ubi pr.* 3; "seltener als *cum pr.* und *ubi pr.* bei
Sen. rhet. Vell.": but Sen. rhet has *ut pr.* 2 times, *ubi pr.* and
cum pr. only once each, and Vell. uses only *ut primum* (2),
which, it may be noted, is the only one of these formulae used

by Plin. min. (9): statements based on Jones ALL 14, 236 f., referred to. Compare note to P. 767 *infra.*

P. 762 *ut ne:* used, however, by Livy 21, 49, 8; 34, 17, 8; 4, 12, 4, and to Lit. add: Cl. Weekly 10, 178 f.; 185 f.; 11, 161 f.; 169 f.

P. 763: note Auct. Her. 4, 41 *non erit* ut, and that Livy uses not only *in* eo ut (2, 17, 5) but *ab* eo ut (25, 6, 11), *cum* eo ut (8, 12, 16), and *pro* eo ut (9, 8, 15); *necesse est ut:* also in Sen. *Suas.* 6, 10; see further Lease A.J.P. 30, 303. Note also *licet ut* in Prud. *Apoth.* 410: non licet ut rapias.

P. 764 Concessive *ut:* after Liv. add Sen. phil. (*Ep.* 19, 3; 65, 14 etc.). Note also *ut . . . sic* Ovid *Trist.* 1, 9, 62; 2, 65; *ut . . . tamen* Ov. *Pont.* 3, 4, 79.

P. 767 *Ubi primum* selten bei Augusteern: "selten" much too mild, as Verg. and Ovid use this formula but once each, and Hor. avoids it entirely; *ubi primum* vor allem Liv.: certainly incorrect relatively to the use of *cum primum* and *ut primum;* measured in this way *ubi primum* occurs most frequently in Gellius (1: 100%) and Sallust (81.8%), followed by Justin (80%) and Tacitus (66.5%), a significant preference. *Cum primum,* used most often by Sen. phil. (72.2%), Cic. (54.8%), Livy (29.8%); *ut primum,* preferred by Cic. (45.2%), less so by Sen. phil. (27.8%) and by Livy (14.1%), using as a basis for comparison Jones *op. cit.* Note also that in Nepos *cum primum* = 100% and that in Hor., Vell., and Plin. min. *ut primum* = 100%. Compare the note to P. 758 *supra.*

P. 768: Note that Cicero in his Letters uses *quoad* 36 times, but *donec* not at all; on the other hand, Pliny in his Letters uses *quoad* but twice (1, 12, 5; 3, 1, 11, and in the sense of 'so long as') but *donec* 7 times.

P. 773 *Si* c. Fut. I oder II—Perf. log. ist häufig bei Plt. und Ter.: but Bennett cites only 4 in Plt. and 6 in Ter.; *si* c. Fut. II—Praes.: after Plt. cite Ter. and Cato; see Bennett I, p. 73.

P. 778 *nisi si* oft im Altlatein: but Bennett cites only 17, and considering the scope "oft" is hardly appropriate. Note also that Plt. uses *ni* 85 times, *nisi si* 11: Ter., *ni* 18, *nisi si* 6. . . . . . in these writers *ni* is used about as often with the Subj. (50) as with the Ind. (33), but *nisi si* is followed by the Ind. 16 times, with the Subj. once. Note also Rhet. Her. 4, 4, 6: nisi etiam, si . . ., putaretis; that *nisi si* is used 8 times

by Ovid (*Her.* 4, 117; 17, 151; 21, 237; *Met.* 5, 20; 615; [10, 201]; 14, 177; 561; by Sen. *Contr.* 9, 2, 24; 10, 5, 4 and Sen. *Dial.* 8, 3, 2 *bis;* 9, 13, 2 *ter; Ep.* 74, 34; *Ben.* 2, 15, 1; 4, 35, 1 (supplementary to Kuehner II, 2, 417 also).

P. 780 *Etsi:* read and defended by Fairclough (1916) Verg. *Aen.* 2, 583; "häufig schon bei Plt.": "häufig" scarcely appropriate in view of the extensive scope of Plautus (Bennett citing only 19 occurrences; see also Lodge *Lex. Plaut.*); "etwas häufiger Catull Prop.": but used only twice by Cat. (65, 1; 72, 5), only twice by Prop. (2, 2, 16; 19, 1). After Colum. insert Curt. (4, 13, 1; 8, 11, 25; 9, 6, 10); Quint.: should say: nur 8mal (see note to P. 737 *supra*).

P. 781 *Tamenetsi* add also Pacuv. 46 (R), Lucil. 181, 916; Catull. 68, 136.

P. 784 *Ac si:* note that Verg. uses *non secus ac si* twice (A. 8, 243; 10, 272) and *haud secus ac si* once (A. 12, 124). Compare note to P. 732 *supra*. *Perinde ac* for *perinde ac si:* a much better treatment is given by M. Mueller II, p. 159 (to which add 2, 58, 1): Livy uses *perinde ac si* 13 times but *perinde ac* 7 times. Note also perinde ac *motus* 9, 14, 2 (for p. a. motus esset) and compare note to P. 603 · *supra*. *Quin* interrogative: much more frequent in Plt. than Bennett's lists (pp. 24 f., 130, 183) would indicate i. e. Plt. instead of using it 99 times uses it 133 times (to Bennett p. 130 imp. ind. add Truc. 506; with the pf. ind. note: Merc. 189, 622; Ps. 501; Rud. 841, 861; St. 576; Trin. 291; p. 183 with pr. subj. add: Rud. 767, 534); note also pr. ind. in Sall. *Cat.* 20, 14; Vell. 2, 7, 2 and the interesting combination, Plt. *Asin.* 254: Quin reice et amove atque recipis? Note also *Quin* and Imperat. in Stat. *Th.* 5, 140 and *Quin potius* in Macr. 7, 13, 18.

P. 785 *Quin et (iam)* s. Rothstein zu Prop. 2, 34, 93: to Verg. A. 7, 750 add: 6, 735; 777; 11, 130; to Hor. Od. 1, 10, 13 add: 2, 13, 37; 3, 11, 21. Note also that Verg. uses *quin etiam* 9 times, *quin et* 4, but *quin* 10; Hor., *quin etiam* 3, *quin et* 3, but *quin* 8; see further Lease A.J.P. 30, 307.

P. 788: note that Cic. uses *quominus* 103 times (Rh. 5, Or. 37, Ph. 27, Ep. 34), but *quin* 358 times (Rh. 19, Or. 167, Ph. 87, Ep. 85). Note also Prud. *Per.* 14, 13 renisam quo minus . . . desereret.

P. 791: Verbalia auf *-tio:* note the contrasts, Plt. 85, Ter.

only 22, but Verg. 6, Prud. 53 and Abstr. auf -*tudo:* Plt. 23, Ter. 9, but Verg. 0 and Prud. 2 (Lease *Prud.* p. 43).

P. 793: note Liv. Andr. *Trg.* frg. 13 (R): *maiestas mea procat;* in line 13 read Prud. *Peristeph.* 13, 65; and note these contrasts in the use of -*tor* and -*trix*: Verg. has 61, but Prud. has 149, and of -*trix* Verg. has 11, but Prud. 29 (Lease *Prud.* p. 46 (quoted by Schmalz p. 607)).

P. 796 Die clausula heroica: cf Kuehner II, 2, 624 and notes thereto: Lease A.J.P. 36 (1915) pp. 85 f., and to the lists of Complete Hexameters in Prose: to the 2 in Cic. add Leg. Agr. 2, 46; Fam. 15, 14, 3; to the 5 in Livy add 4, 5, 4; 26, 41, 13; 30, 30, 4; 42, 16, 4; 44, 31, 8; to the 2 in Sen. rhet. add Contr. 2, 3, 11, and Val. Max. 5, 10, 3: cessato officio partiri non potuisset. In regard to the use of -*ere* and -*erunt* in general and in Livy in particular see Lease A.J.P. XXIV pp. 408-422. To the " Lit." add: Clark *Fontes Prosae Numerosae* (Oxford, 1909); Shipley " Heroic Clausulae in Cicero and Quintilian ", *Cl. Phil.* VI (1910) pp. 410 f.

P. 803 Lit.: for Quintilian's use of Alliteration see Lease A.J.P. 21, pp. 453 f.

P. 817, near end, Neologismen, etwas nüchterner ist Catull: note, however, Norden (Einl. d. Alt. (1910) p. 477): " Immerhin hat aber Catull ungewöhnlich viele ἅπαξ λεγόμενα, so viel wie kein anderer uns erhaltener lateinischer Dichter ".

P. 835, middle: note that Plt. uses over 600 " Deminutiva," Ter. over 120 (Stolz H. Gr. I (1894) p. 574), but Verg. uses only 30, and later Prud. 55 (all classical exc. 3, and 15 being in Verg., 16 in Juvenal); see Lease *Prud.* p. 47.

P. 848, Lit.: add E. S. McCartney " Zeugma in Vergil's Aeneid and in English," Phil. Quart. VIII (1929) 79 f.; E. Adelaide Hahn " A Study of Zeugma in Virgil " (read at A. Ph. Assn., Dec. 27, 1928: to be published in the Class. Journal). Die Figura ἀπὸ κοινοῦ. Lit.: for its use in Horace see J. C. M. Grimm, Diss., Univ. Pennsylvania, 1928.

The following typographical errors are to be noted:

A, Misprints:

P. 348. 18: read New York; 358, 135: read Johns Hopkins; 379, l. 1: read Iaccho; 565, Lit. l. 9: read origin; 577, last line: read propinasse; 617 b) near end: read Ullman, and Iowa;

635 B, l. 19 (536 l. 3) : read McCartney; 657 Lit. end (and
p. 683, *igitur,* near end) : read McKinlay; 688 Lit. l. 6 : read
George Dwight Kellogg; 693, l. 5 : read div. in Caec., l. 6 : read
ne . . . neve . . . neve. 738 l. 24, read perveneras; 743 l. 14;
b) is omitted; 834 Triplikation, l. 3 : read huat hauat huat.

B, *Errors in Citation:*

P. 6 near end: read vgl. § 35; 364, 3 near end: read vgl.
§ 19, b; 373 near end: § 31, d; 374 e) end: read II, 268, 270;
375 a) line 11: read § 24; e) : read § 190 d; f) : read § 60, e;
389 l. 14: read § 19, a) *β*; 406, l. 13: read Jug. 85, 45; 452 d)
l. 4: read § 17, b, and near end: read § 17, b; 659 Lit.: read
§ 229; 689 h) *β*: read § 301, b; 690, 266 l. 12: read § 322; 700
l. 5: read § 301 and § 305; 721, 286 l. 10: read Capt. 350; 734
last line: read Steele (for Lease); 746, 307, l. 2: read § 313
and 747 l. 3 read § 308 a; 754 Zus.: read ALL 5, 569; and
p. 755: read ALL 11, 335; 763, 324, l. 9: read § 322 b; 788,
l. 12: read § 216 e.

But the book as a whole cannot be too highly praised. In the
brief compass of scarcely more than 600 pages the Editor has
covered in a masterly way an enormously large field and has
given us much of great value and importance.

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LITERARY IMITATION IN THE THEOGNIDEA

There are found in the Theognidea many verses that resemble, more or less closely, certain passages which are likewise found in poets earlier than Theognis. The presence of such verses has been explained in several different ways. Those who believe that the Theognidea represent an anthology, gathered from various writers earlier and later than Theognis, explain these verses by saying that some later collector or reviser, who is responsible for the poems in their present form, simply culled from Tyrtaeus, Mimnermus, Solon, and perhaps others, whatever suited his particular purpose. Writers who regard the Theognidea as a collection made particularly for purposes of the banquet explain many of the verses as scolia, and trace them back to the original authors on the principle that such scolia were frequently quotations of earlier writers made in somewhat altered form. Those who regard the Theognidea as a collection made for school purposes think that verses which resemble other poets slipped into the original text of Theognis as the result of their being written on the margins of school-books in order to compare them with the verses of Theognis himself. Our present text, therefore, is extensively interpolated.

But there are serious difficulties in the way of accepting any of the above views, as I have attempted to show in an earlier paper.[1] For the present argument the following facts are particularly important: The only known writer who is named in the Theognidea is Theognis himself; the writers from whom the verses are said to be taken are earlier than Theognis; the argument of the Theognidean passages is frequently different from the doctrine of the poets from whom the passages are considered to be taken, and consistent only with that of the Theognidea; the text of the Theognidean passages usually differs widely from the corresponding text of the earlier writers to whom the passages are assigned—a fact that has been frequently observed. Consequently, I have been led to conclude that all of these verses are

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[1] See "A New Approach to the Theognis Question," *T. A. P. A.*, LVIII, 1927, pp. 170-198.

the genuine work of Theognis, but in the form of literary imitations of the earlier poets.[2]

The main difficulty in the way of deciding the question lies in the fact that outside of the Theognidea we have so little of early elegy preserved for purposes of comparison. Furthermore, whereas the Theognidea have been transmitted in an excellent early manuscript, the other elegiac poets are known only through quotations made by later writers. The question, then, at once arises whether such quotations have been made accurately from a text of the author, or from some secondary source or from memory, and consequently whether they vary, more or less, from the original text. We have no means at present of answering the question definitely and all we can do is to assume that, unless there is positive evidence to the contrary, the passage as quoted is reasonably reliable.[3] But in spite of these difficulties, I believe that it is possible to arrive at some positive conclusion which is in harmony with the various factors involved. The question itself is of prime importance for the problem of the Theognidea.

The principle underlying the practice of antique literary imitation is well known and has been conveniently summarized thus:[4] "In motive, scene, and phraseology the Greeks are possessed by the passion for imitation; and their literature is unique in the coextension of spontaneity with a ' commemorative instinct ' that links its various forms by a chain of associative reminiscence. ἕτερος ἐξ ἑτέρου σοφός. Every poet of Greece is a conscious bondsman to the past." This means that both the subject-matter and the style of an earlier master in any department of literature were considered to be the common property of those who followed him. Such imitation, however, was expected

[2] Cf. E. Harrison, *Studies in Theognis*, pp. 100-120; Lucas, *Studia Theognidea*, pp. 27 f.

[3] For the various factors involved in the study of quotations as they affect the reading of a text, see the careful paper of Howes, *Harvard Studies*, VI, 1895, pp. 153 ff.; Hall, *A Companion to Classical Texts*, pp. 141ff. For the uncertainty of the text in quoted passages when found in an anthology, see *T. A. P. A.*, LVIII, 1927, p. 185, note 33.

[4] H. W. Smyth, "Aspects of Greek Conservatism," *Harvard Studies*, XVII, 1906, p. 66. See also A. B. Cook, *Cl. Rev.*, XV, 1901, pp. 338 ff. T. W. Allen, *Cl. Rev.* XIX, 1905, pp. 387 ff.; and Caspar J. Kraemer, *Cl. Wk.*, XX, 1927, pp. 135 f., have some pertinent comments.

to be artistic and in the nature of improvement. Mere verbal borrowing alone or wholesale appropriation was condemned, and this seems to have been considered plagiarism in the strict sense.[5] While the explicit theory is not older than the fifth century B. C., the practice is much older than that. Theognis, indeed, seems to be giving some hint of it when he speaks of guarding and protecting his poems by the " seal " of his name[6] so that an inferior successor might not appropriate or weaken his verses without detection.

Such imitation was worked out in a variety of ways: by parody, by free translation, by modernization or by literary commonplace. It likewise included quotation and deliberate rivalry of a predecessor, sometimes in the form of sharp combat. Any one, or all, of these methods might be employed by a writer. Harrison thought that in verses 769-772 of the Theognidea we have a description by the poet of his method of composition under three heads:

χρὴ Μουσῶν θεράποντα καὶ ἄγγελον, εἴ τι περισσὸν
εἰδείη, σοφίης μὴ φθονερὸν τελέθειν,
ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν μῶσθαι, τὰ δὲ δεικνύναι, ἄλλα δὲ ποιεῖν.
τί σφιν χρήσηται μοῦνος ἐπιστάμενος;

He understood μῶσθαι to mean appropriation of a predecessor's work as a foundation; δεικνύναι would mean interpretation of a predecessor; ποιεῖν would be invention or creation by the poet himself, with little borrowing.[7] This interpretation seems at least very plausible; but whether we accept it or not, it is clear that the Theognidea contain many reminiscences of earlier poets from Homer to Solon which show striking resemblances to their

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[5] See Fiske, *Lucilius and Horace*, 1920, pp. 46 ff.; E. Stemplinger, *Das Plagiat in der griechischen Literatur*, 1912. The distinction is made by Pseudo-Longinus; see below, note 54. The article by Perrin, "The Ethics and Amenities of Greek Historiography," *A. J. P.*, XVIII, 1897, pp. 255 ff., is not confined entirely to a discussion of the historians but necessarily includes the poets as well. It is particularly valuable for the agonistic aspect of antique literature, which is emphasized later on in the present paper. See below, p. 356 f. and note.

[6] In the article cited in note 1 above, I have given what seem to me to be valid arguments for interpreting the " seal " as the poet's name.

[7] Pindar, *Pyth.* I, 60; *Nem.* VIII, 20, uses ἐξαρίσκω in this sense. See also Stesichorus, fr. 34; Bacchylides, fr. 4, Jebb.

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originals.[8]   What I hope to show in the present paper is that in
numerous cases Theognis has taken passages, frequently several
verses in length, from his predecessors, has changed them to suit
the particular situation which they are intended to describe, and
thereby has given a new setting to these earlier passages.

I.

Let us begin with the passages that resemble Solon.[9]   Verses
39-52 of the Theognidea describe the serious condition of the
Megarian state.[10]   The writer fears the rise of some tyrant
(εὐθυντῆρα κακῆς ὕβριος ἡμετέρης) for the populace is incurably
greedy for wealth unjustly acquired.   When such conditions
exist ὕβρις arises, which gives birth to στάσις, which in turn
results in the rise of the tyrant (μούναρχος).   Here Theognis is
following Solon, frs. 4, 8, 9, 11, very closely, but he has adapted
his own words to local conditions in Megara.   The philosophy
is the same in both poets except that Solon is speaking of the
wealthy nobles and the leaders of the people primarily, while
Theognis is referring to the wealthy commons who so recently
had risen to power in the state.   This distinction is important.[11]

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[8] See J. G. Renner, *Ueber das Formelwesen im griechischen Epos und
epische Reminiscenzen in der ältern griechischen Elegie*, Leipzig, 1872;
R. Küllenberg, *De Imitatione Theognidea*, Argentorati, 1877; the notes
of Hudson-Williams, *Early Greek Elegy*, London, 1926.   Küllenberg's
study is detailed and of particular value.   Hesiod's many borrowings
from Homer are the same in principle and they have been tabulated
and discussed by Sihler, *T. A. P. A.*, XXX, 1902, pp. xxvi-xxxii.

[9] All citations of the elegiac poets are made in accordance with the
numbering in the fourth edition of Bergk's *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*.   For
Solon, as for all of the elegiac poets, the latest text is found in E. Diehl,
Anthologia Lyrica Graeca, Teubner, 1925.

[10] Observe that the address to Cyrnus is found in all the poems of
this group, and cf. below, p. 359.   While I do not think that this address
can be the poet's " seal " (cf. note 6, above), the poems that have it
must be genuine if any are, and they form a good starting-point for
any study of the question.   •

[11] For Athens, see Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* V, XII.   Cf. Ch. Gilliard,
Quelques réformes de Solon, Lausanne, 1907, particularly pp. 59 ff., who
frequently compares the verses of Solon and Theognis and says of these
similar passages in the two poets: " La plupart des doublets s'expli-

We have an interesting case of literary influence exemplified again in Theognis, vv. 153-4. The context has led up to the question how heaven brings ὕβρις upon a man. (Note the three preceding elegies, vv. 145-152). The poet ·replies that ὕβρις results from an " evil " man's acquisition of great wealth. This distich recalls Solon, fr. 4, but the two passages are by no means identical. Solon is explaining the principle that had guided him in his dealing with the populace at Athens when they were clamoring for a champion. He decided that moderation on the part of a leader of the people is best; for excess leads to arrogance if men lack sober judgment. Although both poets in this case are speaking of the populace, Solon's verses are sober and restrained, whereas Theognis indulges in a strong characterization of the commoner who had suddenly obtained wealth. To Theognis it is not primarily the degree of wealth but the character of its possessor that counts. The opposite view is presented by Solon.[12] Theognis has changed and adapted Solon's words here to his own peculiar point of view.

Verses 167-8 of Theognis tell us that no man is completely happy and recall Solon, fr. 14, and Solon's reputed conversation with Croesus (Hdt. I, 32). The text of each poem differs greatly, having in common only the tag ἠέλιος καθορᾷ of the pentameter, which is found elsewhere in Theognis.[13] A similar sentiment is expressed in vv. 441-6.

Verses 197-208. Compare Solon, fr. 13, 3 ff. Each poet is speaking of man's restless search for wealth. But wealth that is unjustly acquired ultimately brings destruction, though men do not always realize this. Elsewhere Theognis expresses his longing for honest wealth with the same degree of earnestness as Solon does here.[14] But note that in the present passage Theognis states his principle abstractly while Solon resorts to

quent par le fait que les deux poètes étaient à peu près contemporains et parlaient tous deux de politique " (p. 60, note 3; cf. p. 66, note 3); of the wealthy class at Athens: " là comme ailleurs en Grèce, l'oligarchie formée par les riches n'est autre que l'ancienne oligarchie de sang, vue sous un autre aspect, considérée sous le rapport le plus frappant, avec son attribut le plus marquant: la fortune " (p. 86).

[12] See Solon, fr. 5.

[13] See vv. 373; 856.

[14] See vv. 753-6.

similes. · Winter [15] has called attention to the higher religious teaching of Theognis here as compared with that of Solon.

Verses 227-232. These are modeled closely on Solon, fr. 13, 71-6, but with important differences in every verse. Each poet is speaking of the mad quest of wealth which, knowing no bounds, leads to destruction. In Solon the pedigree is: πλοῦτος—κέρδεα(κόρος)—ἄτη. In Theognis χρήματα—ἀφροσύνη—ἄτη. But Solon is speaking of mankind in general, while Theognis again has reference to the commons.[16]

Verses 315-318. Compare Solon, fr. 15. The message of each poet is the same, namely, virtue is preferable to riches, for it endures. The verses as found in A are given to Theognis by Stobaeus (*Fl.* I, 16), but to Solon by Plutarch (*Solon,* 3). The differences in the text of the passages are slight. In the Solonian passage, however, the first verse is introduced by γάρ, showing that Plutarch has quoted only a part of the original passage. In Theognis the first verse is introduced by τοὶ—a very common practice in his elegies—and the group of four verses can easily stand alone as an independent thought. The four verses that follow (319-322) fit in nicely with the thought.[17]

Solon probably means to give to ἀρετή in the above passage a moral rather than a political connotation; [18] if so, Theognis is quoting him, and is giving to Solon's verses his own meaning

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[15] W. M. Winter, *Die unter dem Namen Theognis überlieferte Gedichtssammlung,* Leipzig, 1906, pp. 50 ff. But Wilamowitz, *Sappho und Simonides,* pp. 268 f., thinks that such a passage illustrates the way in which Solon's verses were later popularized, being analogous to the method by which the later rhapsodes " spoiled " the early epos.

[16] Geyso, *Studia Theognidea,* p. 49, believes that a change has been made, in the use of ἀφροσύνη (cf. v. 223), in order to give an ethical meaning to the verses as found in Theognis. Winter, *op. cit.,* pp. 50 f., again calls attention to the higher religious conception of these verses as compared with that found in Solon, but accounts for the difference by claiming that the present form of the Theognidean verses is due to the " reviser," who wished to change Solon's words so that they would be consistent with the teaching of Theognis. One wonders why in that case the " reviser " cannot be Theognis.

[17] Ancient writers in general were not always accurate in their assignation of quoted passages, as many examples show. Cf. Scott, *The Unity of Homer,* pp. 13-15.

[18] So Wilamowitz, *Aristoteles und Athen,* II, p. 305. But Linforth, *Solon the Athenian,* p. 213, does not agree.

of ἀρετή as the distinguishing quality of the old Dorian aristo-cracy, to which he himself belonged.

Verses 585-590. Compare Solon, fr. 13, 65-70. In this long poem Solon analyzes mankind's restless effort to better his lot and condition in life. He describes six typical occupations dwelling particularly on the quest of wealth and renown. But it is a gloomy picture; for Fate governs all and she is capricious. Uncertainty (κίνδυνος) attends all of our acts, while the evil man often prospers but the good man fails. Here Theognis changes his original considerably and his conclusion is not the same as Solon's. In Solon the well-doer meets with disaster, but in Theognis it is the man who is seeking a fair reputation. There are also many and important differences in vocabulary. But in Theognis the central thought is clearly this: Uncertainty (κίνδυνος) attends all of our acts. The man seeking a fair reputation meets with disaster, but the well-doer is blessed. That is, the uncertainty affects the evil man who discovers, sooner or later, that his purposes have been wrong. Theognis is clearly less pessimistic than Solon here. The balance by μέν . . . δέ in Theognis makes ὁ μὲν εὐδοκιμεῖν πειρώμενος = ὁ εὔδοξος = ὁ κακός,[19] since it is the latter who, according to regular Theogni-

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[19] Hudson-Williams, ad. loc., calls this passage a "popular revision" of Solon's verses. But I cannot see that vv. 133-142 and 1075, which he cites as being more in harmony with Theognis' views, are different from the present passage except that in verses 141-2 the poet declares that, as mortal men, we know nothing about the future, whereas the gods control all things (cf. vv. 157-8; 617-18; Solon, fr. 13, 33-6). But in vv. 401-6 the gods are represented as leading the man who is bent on excessive wealth into trouble by confusing his mind. On the other hand, is not the good man in harmony with the gods (vv. 589-90), and therefore does he not ultimately triumph? A good commentary on vv. 401-6 is found in Soph. Antig. 617-25, a passage that is very close to these verses, if it is not a conscious imitation of them.

In v. 195 Theognis clearly contrasts εὔδοξος and κακόδοξος as equivalent to ἀγαθός and κακός, respectively, common names for noble and com-moner. But just as he often uses ἀγαθός and κακός in the ironical sense also, so in v. 587 the periphrasis for εὔδοξος is ironical for κακός. In the present passage, however, he has been able to avoid the possible ironical sense of ἀγαθός (ἐσθλός) by using in its place the expression κακὸς ποιῶν. which is never ironical in his elegies.

Wilamowitz, Sappho und Simonides, pp. 269 f., seems to explain the form of v. 585-90 as due to the Alexandrian critics.

dean teaching, becomes involved in ἄτη. Compare vv. 227-232, above (χρήματα—ἀφροσύνη—ἄτη). But according to the argument of the present passage, the good man is freed from ἀφροσύνη and therefore is not involved in ἄτη. Theognis seems to be correcting Solon here.[20]

Verses 719-728. This passage, as found in A, is given to Theognis by Stobaeus (*Fl.* IV, 33), but modern editors on the basis of Plutarch's quotation (*Solon*, 2) are inclined to give it to Solon, although Plutarch actually quotes only six verses, beginning with πολὺς ἄργυρός ἐστιν. But these six verses differ considerably from the corresponding verses in Theognis, and it is very questionable whether Theognis 725-728, in their existing form, should also be attributed to Solon. Here again Theognis is probably imitating Solon, and vv. 719-728 very likely represent Theognis' version of his original.

Verses 949-954. Geyso[21] would give these lines, as well as 955-970, to Solon, citing as evidence the grief of the latter when he was about to leave Athens. But the first group (949-954) is an erotic poem on the lover's fruitless conquest very probably.[22] The second group (955-970) represents several distinct poems: The first (955 f.) on wasted kindness; the second (957 f.) on revenge; the third (959-962) on another love; the fourth (963-970) on the subject, "Time proves men's real characters—as I learned too late."

Finally, we have in vv. 1171-6 an encomium of γνώμη, a virtue far superior to ὕβρις and κόρος, for it is given to mortal man by the gods. Few will question that this poem belongs to Theognis since it contains the address to Cyrnus in the first and the last verses. An earlier couplet (895-6), also containing the address to Cyrnus, states that there is nothing superior to γνώμη and nothing more distressing than ἀγνωμοσύνη. In the former poem Theognis seems to be following Solon, fr. 16, who declares that it is difficult to know the full measure of the hidden wisdom of heaven,[23] which can accomplish all things. Solon had used γνωμοσύνη where Theognis has γνώμη, and πάντων πείρατα μοῦνον

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[20] Elsewhere (vv. 129-30; 637-40; 653-4; 1135-50) in a more melancholy mood he recognizes Hope and Chance as our divinities.

[21] Geyso, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

[22] So Hudson-Williams, *ad. loc.*

[23] This explanation we owe to Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* V, 12, 81.

ἔχει where Theognis has πείρατα παντὸς ἔχει. But the teaching of each is the same, except that Theognis enlarges somewhat upon the subject by contrasting the possession of ὕβρις and κόρος, which are common topics with him.[24]

A comparison such as the above to me seems to show many points of difference between the poems of Solon and passages in the Theognidea that correspond to them. But the only explanation that takes into consideration all of the factors involved is to be found in the practice of literary imitation in its various aspects. It is not at all unnatural that Theognis should draw so heavily upon the writings of Solon. Both were of noble birth and determined reformers;[25] both lived during periods of social and economic change that had many features in common; both feared for the ultimate welfare of their states. Throughout the historical period we can detect, from time to time, mutual influences between Athens and Megara in comedy, in art and in philosophy. It seems entirely natural, therefore, that Theognis should seek in the writings of his distinguished Athenian neighbor aid and guidance in the crisis through which his own city was passing. ἕτερος ἐξ ἑτέρου σοφός.

II.

A second poet from whom some passages of the Theognidea are said to have been taken is Tyrtaeus.[26] But with one exception the detailed resemblances are very slight.

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[24] It is difficult to follow Linforth, *op. cit.*, p. 222, in his contrast of the poets here.

[25] Solon, however, considered himself a moderate reformer yielding to the extreme demands of neither the poor nor the wealthy (frs. 5, 6; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* XII). But Theognis was uncompromising in his opposition to the new régime and longed for the εὐνομία of the nobles. Furthermore, Solon had a practical program of reform to present to the Athenians, while Theognis spoke mostly in generalities.

[26] Since the appearance of Verrall's article in *Cl. Rev.* X, 1896, pp. 269 ff., the date of Tyrtaeus and the character of the extant fragments of his poems have been much discussed. But it now seems unnecessary to question the older tradition which placed him in the seventh century B. C., and made him an Athenian by birth who had been invited to take up residence in Sparta. See Bates. *T. A. P. A.* XVIII, 1897, pp. xlii-v; Macan. *Cl. Rev.*, XI, 1897, pp. 10-12: Dickins, *J. H. S.*, XXXII, 1912,

Verses 699-718.   These verses follow the external structure of
Tyrtaeus, fr. 12, 1-20, in some respects but the thought and
content are entirely different.   Tyrtaeus is speaking of the young
warrior, and says that athletic prowess, beauty, power, eloquence
and fame do not make a good warrior who will keep his place
in the front rank of the battleline.   Theognis is speaking of
the " virtue " most prized by the commons—not true virtue from
his point of view.   But, he declares, if you possessed the self-
control of Rhadamanthus, were wiser than Sisyphus, had the
persuasive eloquence of Nestor, and were fleeter of foot than the
Harpies or the sons of Boreas—even so you could not persuade
the rabble to forsake its greed for wealth.   Tyrtaeus' closing
words are:

> ταύτης νῦν τις ἀνὴρ ἀρετῆς εἰς ἄκρον ἱκέσθαι
>   πειράσθω θυμῷ, μὴ μεθιεὶς πολέμου,   vv. 43-4.

But Theognis says:

> πλήθει δ' ἀνθρώπων ἀρετὴ μία γίγνεται ἥδε,
>   πλουτεῖν· τῶν δ' ἄλλων οὐδὲν ἄρ' ἦν ὄφελος, vv. 699-700.[27]

pp. 11 f.; Christ-Schmid, *Gesch. Gr. Lit.*, I, 1912, pp. 170-72; Geffcken,
Gr. Literaturgeschichte, I, 1926, p. 71.

The fragments of Tyrtaeus' poems have been examined critically,
chiefly by Wilamowitz, *Die Textgeschichte der gr. Lyriker*, 1900, pp.
97 ff., who has attempted to discover "the real Tyrtaeus." His con-
clusion is that the poems attributed to Tyrtaeus represent originals
which, circulating about Athens in the form of a book of elegies, were
revised and enlarged by the addition of various passages from other
sources, as was the case with Hesiod and Theognis.   In the extant
fragments, then, we have interpolated poems.   Cf. F. Jacoby, *Hermes*,
LVIII, 1918, pp. 1 ff.   In this view Wilamowitz has not been generally
followed.

[27] In vv. 523-4 the poet declares that men worship Wealth more than
any other god, for he tolerates their vice.   He has similar statements
elsewhere (vv. 1117-18, etc.).   Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 313, seems to
be the earliest extant writer to associate virtue and wealth, but he also
(*op. cit.*, 319-334) gives warning that ill-gotten wealth only brings
down the divine wrath.   This warning became a common theme during
the lyric period largely, no doubt, because of the character of the
economic and social changes that were then taking place.   For πλοῦτος
in its various aspects, see Fr. Hübner, *De Pluto*, Halis Saxonum, 1914.

For the present argument it makes no essential difference whether
we read βροτοί with the MSS. or θεῶν, after Stobaeus.   Diehl reads
βροτοί.

The indications that Theognis is here imitating Tyrtaeus are several: the external structure of each poem; the appeal to mythical or semi-mythical types of character in each case; the presence of a refrain in each.[28] But Theognis has changed the meaning of ἀρετή from that which is purely physical to the sphere of the moral and intellectual. He also uses the word δύναμις (v. 718) not with reference to physical strength but with reference to one's influence in the state.[29] Verse 713 is a clear reminiscence of Homer, *Od.* XIX, 203, and of Hesiod, *Theog.* 27. Verse 707 is almost identical with *Odyssey*, IV, 188. Verse 706 is almost an exact repetition of v. 430.

Theognis seems here to be imitating, but adapting to his own peculiar purpose, the words of the great martial poet. There is but little praise of war in his elegies and he prefers to give to such words as ἀρετή and δύναμις an ethical meaning.

Verses 879-884. This passage Reitzenstein assigned to "some Laconian imitator" of Tyrtaeus (perhaps Chilon?).[30] But the epithet θεοῖσι φίλος only plays upon the name Θεότιμος, who very probably was one of the poet's Laconian friends that had entertained him so royally during his visit to Sparta (vv. 783-8).

Verses 1003-1006. Compare Tyrtaeus, fr. 12, 13-16. The two passages are identical except that Theognis writes σοφῷ (v. 1004) where Tyrtaeus has νέῳ (v. 14). Observe that the change in the Theognidean passage stands in the pentameter. Tyrtaeus'

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[28] See Theognis, vv. 699 and 718; Tyrtaeus, vv. 10 and 20. Very probably the Tyrtaean passage ultimately goes back to Homer, *Iliad*, IX, 379-92; XIV, 315-328, as the external form strongly suggests. Xenophanes' famous diatribe against the professional athlete (fr. 2, 1-22) is modeled closely on Tyrtaeus' poem. Wilamowitz, however, thinks that the Tyrtaean poem cannot be earlier than the time of the Sophists. But he concedes that it is a complete poem, neatly constructed, and pretty. See *Die Textgeschichte*, pp. 111 ff.; *Sappho und Simonides*, p. 257, note 1.

[29] The word is so used in vv. 34; 412; 420. Observe that in v. 412 the address to Cyrnus is found.

[30] F. Jacoby, *l. c.*, p. 5, calls v. 881 "evidente Nachahmung eines alten Stückes." The epithet φίλος θεοῖς, is found as early as Homer (*Il.* I, XV, 247 (cf. λεως), and is used elsewhere in the Theognidea: v. 653, of the poet himself and addressed to Cyrnus: v. 1119, again of the poet—φίλος δέ με Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων. Cf. Pindar, *Isth.* VI, 13, θεότιμος ἐών, said of one who has gained success through divine aid.

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appeal is constantly to young men, and it is likely that Theognis is here combating his predecessor.[31]   For elsewhere [32] he declares that wealth may be possessed by the worthless man (ἄχρηστος), whereas the courageous warrior preserves his native land and his home.   Perhaps in the present passage Theognis means to say that the *wise man* (be he young or old) will defend his native land, and we may interpret ἀνὴρ σοφός as synonymous with πιστὸς ἀνήρ of vv. 77-8, who is there said to be more valuable than silver or gold because of his loyalty in time of strife. Plato [33] has made much of the latter passage in his contrast of Tyrtaeus and Theognis.

III.

A few verses have been attributed to Mimnermus.   The main reason assigned is that these verses reflect the luxury of Ionia, and therefore are not appropriate to a Dorian poet.

Verses 793-796.   In the Palatine Anthology IX, 50, vv. 795-6 are attributed to Mimnermus.   For this reason Bergk gave the first, as well, to that poet.   In the view of the anthologist, the controlling incentive of the two verses is the allusion to the desirability of enjoying oneself freely.[34]   But if we examine the entire group as found in the Theognidea we discover that such a sentiment is entirely secondary, while the central thought is this: Be just to stranger and to your fellow-citizen, and thus make glad your heart.   This sentiment is found frequently in the Theognidea.[35]   The anthologist, however, may have found

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[31] So Harrison, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-102.   But Wilamowitz, *Die Textge-schichte*, p. 111 and note 1, characterizes the verses as belonging to Tyrtaeus but " mit einer schlechten Aenderung " which rests " auf Willkür des Umarbeiters."

[32] See vv. 865-8.

[33] Plato, *Laws*, I, 627 e–632 d.   The main argument is that Tyrtaeus praises merely ἀνδρεία, a virtue noble in itself but of the fourth rank, while the hero of Theognis possesses the very first of the virtues (δικαιοσύνη) in addition to σωφροσύνη, φρόνησις, and ἀνδρεία.   Here Plato is contrasting loyalty in the midst of internal strife (στάσις) and valor displayed in external war (πόλεμος).

[34] The lemma in the Anthology runs: Μιμνέρμου· παραίνεσις εἰς τὸ ἀνέτως ζῆν.

[35] See vv. 511-22; Ν35-50, etc.

the single couplet that he quotes in some secondary source, or he may have interpreted the words τὴν σαυτοῦ φρένα τέρπε, which stand at the head of v. 795, as those of Mimnermus because the latter so frequently speaks of enjoying life while one may. The Palatine Anthology shows little familiarity with Theognis.

Verses 1017-1022. This passage is given to Mimnermus by Stobaeus (*Fl.* 116, 34). The verses, however, belong to a group in the Theognidea which includes vv. 1007-1022. This group (or this poem) deals with the subject of fleeting youth and the approach of grim old age, which again is a common topic in the Theognidea.[36] And, although Stobaeus was very familiar with Theognis, in the present case he may have felt that so light a theme was unsuitable to the Dorian poet, and consequently gave the verses to Mimnermus on the same principle perhaps as did the anthologist in the preceding passage. Such anthologists were given to the classification of *sententiae* according to some definite plan and with some definite purpose. For this reason they would frequently even change the text of the original.[37] In cases of such conflicting evidence I believe that we should give precedence to our good manuscripts.

IV.

There are still two other examples that clearly illustrate the manner in which Theognis borrowed from his predecessors. The first is found in vv. 1197-1202, a lyric on the poet's lost estate. Here again the address to Polypaides (Cyrnus) will permit few to question that the passage belongs to Theognis.[38] The poet laments that the voice of the spring bird whistling clear brings him no joy, for others now possess his estate.[39] Theognis here is clearly following Hesiod, *Works and Days,* 448 ff.,[40] who warns the farmer that the voice of the crane is

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[36] See vv. 527-8; 1069-70; 1131-2; 983-8.

[37] See O. Crüger, *De locorum Theognideorum apud veteres scriptores exstantium ad textum poetae emendandum pretio,* Regimontii, 1882.

[38] Polypaides and Cyrnus are combined in the same poem as follows: vv. 19-26; 53-68 (bis); 183-92. In vv. 213-16, the word Cyrnus appears; and in v. 215 there is clearly a play upon πολύπαιδης.

[39] Cf. vv. 341-50; 825-30.

[40] So Hudson-Williams, *ad. loc.,* who has tabulated the correspondences.

the harbinger of fall calling to him to yoke his oxen to the plow. But what is only a commonplace passage in Hesiod has been transformed by Theognis into a lyric poem of much feeling and no little beauty.

Finally, we have the enigmatical passage of vv. 1209-1216. Here the poet says in substance: "I belong to the family of Aithon and I dwell in well-walled Thebe. I am a stranger in a strange land, an exile. But I am free, Argyris, for I have a city—close to Lethaeus' plain." The proper names employed and the descriptive details that are given lead me to offer the following interpretation. The poet, calling himself Aithon, was now in exile at Thebes.[41] During a banquet he is twitted by the *hetaira* Argyris because of his banishment. But he replies that while his misfortunes have been many since leaving his native land, slavery is not one of them, for he has a city.[42]

The use of the name Aithon recalls *Odyssey* XIX, 165 ff., where Odysseus is questioned by Penelope concerning his family, since she does not recognize him but thinks that he is a stranger. He replies that he is Aithon of Crete, has visited many cities and suffered many hardships during his long absence from home. The form Θήβη is used elsewhere by Homer of Thebes.[43] The word Ἄργυρις (v. 1212) is certainly the name of an *hetaira*.[44]

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[41] Diehl has needlessly changed Αἴθων (the reading of A) to Λήθων because of v. 1216.

[42] For the hard lot of the exile in early Greece, see Tyrtaeus, fr. 10; Solon, fr. 4.

[43] See *Odyssey*, XI, 263, 265, 275.

[44] This name is not found in Lambertz, *Die griechischen Sklaven-namen*, 1907. But its appropriateness is suggested by Pindar, *Isth.* II, 6-8, speaking of the muse of old before odes were purchased for money:

ἁ Μοῖσα γὰρ οὐ φιλοκερδής πω τότ' ἦν οὐδ' ἐργάτις·
οὐδ' ἐπέρναντο γλυκεῖαι μελιφθόγγου ποτὶ Τερψιχόρας
ἀργυρωθεῖσαι πρόσωπα μαλθακόφωνοι ἀοιδαί.

Cf. the schol. commenting on the girls in Pindar's metaphor: πρόσωπον κεκοσμημέναι καὶ λαμπρυνθεῖσαι ὅτι τὰ ὤνια ὡς τῶν πωλούντων τὰ πρόσωπα κοσμοῦνται. The reference here is probably to the use of white lead (ψιμύθιον). [But see *Cl. Rev.* 2. 180 and *A.J.P.* 38. 110.—Ed.]

In vv. 825-30 a slave (Σκύθα) is addressed at a banquet, and there are references in the poems to the various effects of slavery. Some have thought that Argyris was Theognis' wife.

The epithet καλή (v. 1216) applied to the city is not unlike other epithets used of Megara.[45] The final expression Ληθαίῳ κεκλιμένη πεδίῳ very aptly describes Magnesia, which was located in the plain of the Maeander but close to which, on the north and east, flowed the Lethaeus river.[46] For in two places [47] the poet declares that ὕβρις such as destroyed Magnesia will also destroy Megara. The last verse, therefore, is probably a veiled expression—a kind of riddle (γρῖφος) [48]—describing the poet's native city. Homer's words recounting the narrative of Odysseus to Penelope seem strangely applicable to the present case also:

> Ἴσκε ψεύδεα πολλὰ λέγων ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα.

Similar veiled expressions are found elsewhere in the Theognidea.[49]

Further confirmation of the above interpretation is found in the fact that Theognis elsewhere seemed to see in the wander-

[45] See vv. 604; 788; 947; 1044. These are all typical Homeric epithets of cities.

[46] See Strabo, XIV, 647; cf. C. Humann, *Magnesia am Maeander*, Berlin, 1904. The ancient city was first destroyed about 625 B. C.

[47] See vv. 603-4; 1103-4, which contain the address to Cyrnus. The woes of Magnesia had become proverbial by Theognis' time. Cf. Archil., fr. 20; Hudson-Williams on Theognis 1103-4.

[48] Cf. W. Schultz, Pauly-Wissowa, *s. v.* Rätsel (1920), p. 91. Athenaeus (X, 457) informs us that it was customary during the course of an Athenian dinner-party for one guest to name a city in Europe beginning with a certain letter, at the same time challenging another guest to name a city in Asia beginning with the same letter. If a similar custom was followed at Thebes, as we may reasonably assume, Argyris probably thus challenged Theognis. But, instead of replying with the name "Megara," corresponding to "Magnesia," the poet responded with a cryptic description of Megara, according to the interpretation that I have adopted. Argyris may have come from the district of Magnesia.

Reitzenstein thought that Aithon of this passage was some unknown writer who was in exile at Thebes and was thus speaking through the verses in the first person.

[49] See particularly vv. 667-82, the riddle of the ship of state, which was addressed to Simonides, some friend of the poet, apparently during the course of a banquet. Note the use:

> ταῦτά μοι ᾐνίχθω κεκρυμμένα τοῖς ἀγαθοῖσι
> γιγνώσκοι δ' ἄν τις καὶ κακός, ἂν σοφὸς ᾖ.

The part. συνών (v. 668) easily suggests the more technical συνουσία.

ings and hardships of Odysseus the prototype of his own exile. Thus, he declares [50] that he has suffered ills as grievous as those of Odysseus; and the description of his exile [51] sounds much like the words of Odysseus to Alcinous.[52] On one occasion [53] he counseled the young Cyrnus to manifest the character of an Odysseus.

<h1 style="text-align:center">V.</h1>

Antique literary theory recommended such close imitation of an earlier master. The writer of περὶ ὕψους urges the imitation and emulation of the writers of the past as one of the paths leading to the elevated style.[54] Such an expression on the part of a writer who came so long after the time of Theognis only states the working of a traditional practice that was very old. For in the passage referred to Pseudo-Longinus observes that Homer was the great source from whom Stesichorus, Archilochus, Herodotus and Plato all drew. In conformity with this principle, I believe it can be maintained that Theognis thus drew from Tyrtaeus, Mimnermus and Solon, not to mention Homer and Hesiod; and that such borrowing is sufficient to explain the character of the verses that have been discussed above.

One additional topic requires brief notice. In several cases where the Theognidea resemble closely some earlier poet's work, the explanation is evidently to be found in the practice of poetic rivalry. This is, of course, only a particular aspect of literary imitation and it has already been touched upon. It was suggested above that Theognis at times seems to be correcting Tyrtaeus and Solon. The formal literary contests between poets, which were so common among the Greeks from early

[50] Verses 1123-8.

[51] Verses 783-8.

[52] Homer, *Odyssey*, IX, 27-36; particularly vv. 28, 34-6.

[53] See vv. 213-18. He does not name Odysseus but the adj. πολύπλοκος (= πολύτροπος) of v. 215, and the general idea of the passage at once suggested the wily Odysseus. Cf. Hudson-Williams, *ad. loc.*

[54] Ps.-Longinus, περὶ ὕψους, 13-14. Cf. Bacchylides, fr. 4 (Jebb): "Poet is heir to poet, now as of yore; for in sooth 'tis no light task to find the gates of virgin song." Jebb observes that this may well be a gentle and modest protest to Pindar's scornful utterances against the διδακταὶ ἀρεταί.

times, imply a feeling of rivalry that must always have been present in the mind of an aspiring poet even when a formal public contest could not, in the nature of the case, take place. It has been pointed out [55] in the case of Greek literature that " success was not so much the success of positive achievement as the glory of comparative personal triumph over rivals." Homer seems to hint at this when he says that

" That song pleases men most which rings newest in the ear." [56]

Hesiod recommends such competition as follows:

" Such strife as this is good for men . . . . . .
                    While bard vies with bard." [57]

But a poet seldom, if ever, named the predecessor or contemporary whom he was thus correcting, and we recall the veiled allusions in Solon,[58] Aeschylus,[59] and Pindar.[60] The subjective character of Theognis' poems probably kept him in particular from making any direct reference to his predecessors. In those poems where some person is named he seems always to be addressing a friend.

VI.

The passages discussed above have an important bearing upon the question whether or not the Theognidea represent an anthology. We may again summarise the pertinent facts as follows. First, in none of the verses is any known poet's name men-

[55] B. Perrin, *A. J. P.*, XVIII, 1897, p. 269. Cf. note 5, above.

[56] See *Odyssey*, I, 351-2.

[57] See *Works and Days*, 24-6. The technical name for such rivalry was ζῆλος or ἀγών. See Fiske, *op. cit.*, pp. 43 ff., 322.

[58] Solon, fr. 20, in reply to Mimnermus, fr. 6, on the question at what age a man should be ready to die. Cf. Diog. Laert. I, 2, 13. Solon here addresses Mimnermus as Λιγυαστάδη, " son of Ligyastas " (?). Perhaps the name is only complimentary, and Linforth translates it " thou scion of sweet song."

[59] Aeschylus, *Agam.* 369-73. This probably refers to Diagoras, the atheistic lyric poet, whom Aeschylus here describes simply thus: οὐκ ἔχω . . . . . ὸ δ' οὐκ ἐϋεβῄς.

[60] Pindar, *Pyth.* I, 41-6: ἀντίους, thought to refer to Corax, Bacchylides, and Simonides. See the commentators, and cf. *Olymp.* II, end. Cf. also Bacchylides as in note 54, above, and Jebb, *Bacchylides*, pp. 13 ff.

tioned. But if such passages have been extracted merely from the works of others by some later anthologist, it is strange that those writers are never mentioned. It is true that Reitzenstein thought he could detect seven other writers besides Theognis in the elegies, but he admitted that most of these writers were otherwise unknown, and his identification was only conjectural in any case. But we should expect that the names of Tyrtaeus, Mimnermus and Solon, at least, would be given in connection with the passages taken from them.[61]

Second, the writers upon whose poems the Theognidean passages are based are all earlier than Theognis. Is it likely that a later anthologist would have confined his selections to such early writers? That was not the regular practice; for the anthologist was accustomed to select from writers of all periods, both early and late. It is, of course, possible that an entirely new style of anthology might arise; but when we recall that the Greeks of all periods were bound by tradition so closely, it is not likely that they would countenance so radical a departure from the common type of anthology.

Third, the differences in text of two corresponding passages can be explained on the principle of literary imitation.

Fourth, rivalry of a predecessor as well as of a contemporary was common in Greece from early times; and proximity of Megara to Athens as well as social and economic conditions which, in many ways, were quite similar in both cities, naturally led Theognis to draw freely from the writings of Solon in particular.

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[61] In my previous paper, cited in note 1, above, I pointed out the fact that an important characteristic of all anthologies is the regular practice of giving, or attempting to give, the name of the author from whom a passage is taken. Fragments of anthologies preserved in the papyri conform to this principle. Cf. A. D. Knox, *The First Greek Anthologist*, Cambridge 1923, p. 2, speaking of the papyrus containing parts of the Cynic Cecidas (?), who comes soon after 250 B. C.: "Like all anthologies it has lemmata, or headings, giving the name and a few lines of the author quoted." "It is only necessary to notice how this anthology, if it be the first anthology, set up fashions which have generally been followed throughout the ages" (p. 12). Cf. J. U. Powell in Powell and Barber, *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature*, Oxford 1921, on the same papyrus fragment.

Fifth, it is worth noting that in many of the passages dis-cussed above the address to Cyrnus (or Polypaides) is found. Observe vv. 39-42; 43-52; 895-6; 1171-6; 1197-1202; and the related passages. Such verses are considered to be the genuine work of Theognis by most writers, if any are genuine. But they follow the phraseology of the earlier poets quite as closely as do others that are without the address.

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A PRE-INDO-EUROPEAN CHANGE OF u TO m AFTER u OR $ə$.

The frequent interchange of w and m in Hittite verb-forms, especially from causatives in nu, was noted by Hrozný,[1] but he did not reach a final decision as to which sound was original. A number of other scholars [2] have noticed the phenomenon and have cited additional examples. Hrozný, Götze, and Sommer all hold that m was sometimes written where w was pronounced. Delaporte [3] sums up the known facts thus:

54.—w peut se changer en m au nominatif-accusatif et au génitif de l'infinitif actif si le radical du verbe se termine par u; il en est de même aux temps personnels quand la terminaison commence par w.

56.—Comme en accadien, la consonne m est parfois employée dans l'écriture au lieu de w et se prononce comme w.

Since nearly all instances of m for w show u before the altered sound,[4] it appears that we have to do with a phonetic law by which w after u became m. It is clear, however, that the law had ceased to operate long before the date of our texts, and that its effects had been partly obscured by analogical changes. For w after u is very common, and, as already noted, some instances of m for w are merely graphic.

A large part of the forms with m for w are infinitives in mar or $maš$,[5] supines in $manzi$ or man, or first persons plural in

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[1] *Die Sprache der Hethiter* 155, 173 f., 174$_1$.

[2] Forrer, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 76. 211$_{6,7,8}$; Sommer and Ehelolf, *Boghazköi-Studien* 10. 18. 74; Götze, *Madduwattaš* 120 and fn. 4.

[3] *Grammaire de la Langue Hittite* 10 f.

[4] The exceptions of which I know are all cited by Götze, *Madd.* 120$_4$. See below, p. 363.

[5] I have no doubt that the forms in *waš* and *maš* are genitives of the infinitival noun (see Friedrich, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* NF 1. 9 ff.; Götze, *Hattušiliš* 140). The inflection originated in the infinitives in *mar*, where the genitival *mnaš* regularly yielded $m(m)aš$ (see Ehelolf, *ZA* NF 2. 313 and fn. 6; Götze, *Madd.* 131).. The forms like *šarninkweš* and *daweš* preserve the original genitive ending *es* (Lat. *pedis*, etc.). The inherited pair *šarninkwaš* and *šarninkweš* were re-interpreted as corresponding singular and plural, and that is the reason for the survival of the genitive ending *es* here alone in Hittite.

meni or *men*; these terminations regularly begin with *m* instead of *w* in all verbs whose stem ends in *u*. Typical examples are: *te-ep-nu-mar* 'humiliation, reviling' (*Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi* 5. 6. = 2*BoTU.* 41. 4. 1),[6] *wa-ah-nu-mar* 'turning' (*KBo.* 1. 42. 3. 47), *ar-nu-um-ma-áš* 'of washing' (*KBo.* 5. 1. 4. 15), *wa-ar-nu-ma-áš* 'of burning' (*Keilschrift-Urkunden aus Boghazköi* 13. 2. 2. 5), *wa-ah-nu-um-ma-an-zi* 'to turn' (Hrozný, *SH* 173), *ar-nu-um-me-ni* 'we bring' (*KUB* 4. 1. 2. 6), *wa-ar-šá-nu-mi-ni* 'we appease' (*KUB* 16. 39. 2. 44), *a-ú-me-en* 'we saw' (*KUB* 9. 34. 3. 39).

The corresponding forms of a number of verbs with stems ending in an original long vowel also show *u* as stem-final and *m* as the initial consonant of the termination. Examples follow: *tum-me-ni* (*Yale Tablet* 1. 30 = *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 58. 25), *tu(m)-um-me-ni* 'we take' (*KUB* 17. 28. 1. 10) : *da-ah-hi* : Indo-European *$d\bar{o}$- 'give'; *ú-tum-me-e-ni* 'we take' (*KBo.* 6. 29. 2. 27), *ú-tum-me-en* 'we took' (*KBo.* 4. 2. 2. 34) : *ú-da-ah-hi* : IE *au + *$d\bar{o}$-; *pé-e-tum-me-e-ni* 'we take with us' (*KUB* 9. 27. 1. 17) : *pé-e-da-áš*; *tar-nu-um-ma-ni* 'we let go' (Hrozný *SH* 172), *tar-nu-mar* (*KBo.* 1. 35. 8), *tar-nu-um-ma-áš* (Hrozný *SH* 173), *tar-nu-ma-an-zi* (*KUB* 5. 6. 2. 58) : *tar-na-ah-hi, tar-na-a-i*; *pé-en-nu-um-ma-an-zi* 'to drive' (*KBo.* 2. 5. 2. 21) : *pé-en-na-ah-hi*; *u-un-nu-um-me-en* 'we drove' (*Hittite Texts in the Cuneiform Character from the British Museum* 1. 2. 27) : *u-un-na-i*; *wa-áš-du-mar* 'sin' (*KBo.* 4. 14. 2. 60, 64, 71) : *wa-áš-ta-at-ti, wa-áš-ta-i, wa-áš-ta-áš*; *šú-un-nu-mar* 'a filling' (*KBo.* 1. 42. 3. 51) : *šú-un-na-i*; *šarrumar, šarrumaš* 'a transgressing' (Delaporte, *Gramm.* 73) : *šarratti, šarrai*; *ku-en-nu-um-mi-e-ni* 'we smite' (*KBo.* 6. 29. 2. 25) : *kuenna(i)-*.[7] These forms certainly contain the reduced grade of the suffix or of the final syllable of the root, and therefore we must apparently conclude that PIE *əu* became Hittite *um*. The alternative is to suppose that *um(m)* here stands for *w* (cf. *uwa* = *wa*; see pp. 363 f. below), so that *tu(m)-um-me-ni* would be pronounced *tweni*; which is unlikely because the orthography in question rarely occurs in a verb whose stem ends in a consonant (we do not find *tc-šú mar*

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[6] Cf. Friedrich, *Kleinasiatische Forschungen* 1. 201.

[7] See Götze *ap.* Delaporte, *Gramm.* 66.

beside *e-šú-u-wa-ar* for *ešwar* ' to be '), and because there is a decided tendency to write *m* double in these words.

Since the IE noun suffixes corresponding to Hittite *war* and *wanzi* (see below, pp. 366-8) regularly take the full grade of the root, monosyllabic roots should show full grade here, although dissyllabic roots would naturally present full grade + *nil*-grade. Hence the infinitives *da-a-u-wa-ar* (*KBo.* 1. 53. 10), *daweš*, and the supine *dawanzi* (Delaporte, *Gramm.* 73) are the normal forms. The first plural *tummeni*, however, as well as *tarnumar* and *wašdumar* are phonologically correct.

The influence of other verbs sometimes restored *w* in words of these two classes; e. g. *an-na-u-wa-*[*ar*] (*KBo.* 1. 30. 1. 20) : *an-na-nu-ut* (*KBo.* 3. 34. 2. 30) ; *wa-ah-nu-u-wa-ar* (*KUB* 1. 11. 1. 9), *ú-wa-ah-nu-wa-ar* (*KBo.* 3. 2. 1. 9, 62, 3.·5. 4. 30) ; *da-a-u-en* (*KBo.* 3. 60. 3. 12 = 2*BoTU.* 21. 3. 11) ; *pé-en-nu-an-zi* ' to drive ' (*KBo.* 3. 5. 2. 4) ; *tar-nu-en* (*KBo.* 3. 60. 3. 7 = 2*BoTU.* 21. 3. 6) ; *me-mia-u-e-ni* (*KUB* 13. 35. 4. 14). Possibly *šá-ra-a-u-an-zi* (*KBo.* 5. 1. 3. 54) belongs here; Sommer and Ehelolf's [8] objections to connecting the verb with *šara* ' up ' and interpreting it as ' lift ' or ' fasten up ' do not seem conclusive, but that etymology would not prove that the stem ended in an original long vowel. The supine *šarrumawanzi* (Delaporte, *Gramm.* 73) must have resulted from contamination of **šarrumanzi* and **šarrawanzi*.

As a result of confusion between these *w*-endings and *m*-endings, signs containing *m* came to be regarded as possible means of writing the sound *w*, particularly if *u* preceded. The process was no doubt helped along by the interchange of *m* and *w* in the Akkadian texts with which the scribes were familiar. The reason why *m* was used for *w* rather than the reverse was the scarcity of signs containing *w*. Probably the *w* from a consonantal glide in certain forms of the *u*-stem verbs (see below, p. 366) was first to be written in this way. I have noted *ar-ru-ma-an-zi* ' they wash ' (*KBo.* 3. 5. 1. 23), and *wa-ah-nu-ma-a*[*n-za*] (*KUB* 1. 11. 4. 24). The new orthography must have been convenient also in the oblique cases of *u*-stem nouns and adjectives (*aššuwaš, aššuwi*, etc.). Götze reports *par-ku-*

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[8] *BoSt.* 10. 70 f.

mu-uš. Contamination of this with the usual accusative plural, *aššawaš,* yielded *i-da-la-mu-uš, par-ga-mu-uš, da-áš-šá-mu-uš, ki-e-la-mu-uš.*[9] The derivative verb *išharnuwa(i)-* 'make bloody' *(iš-har-nu-wa-an-zi—KBo.* 6. 34. 3. 47; *iš-har-nu-wa-an-da—KUB* 9. 4. 3. 42) is sometimes written with *m* for *w,* e. g. *iš-har-nu-ma-iz-zi (KBo.* 5. 1. 1. 26).[10]

Presently the complex *um* before a vowel came to stand for *w,* much as *uwa* was written for *wa* (see the next paragraph). Thus we find *ú-e-tu-ma-an-zi* 'to build' *(KBo.* 5. 6. 1. 6) : *ú-e-te-ez-zi, ú-e-ta-an-za.* Götze, *Madd.* 120, has shown that *nekumanza* 'naked' is related to Lat. *nūdus,* Goth. *naqaþs,* from IE **nogṷedhos,* and has suggested that *kum* is merely a graphic representation of labiovelar *qṷ* (cf. *šá-ku-wa* for *šakwa* 'eyes'[11]). He considers *nekumanza* a participle from a verb **nekwa-;* but I should prefer to derive it from PIE ***negṷodh-,* with intrusion of *n,* after the change of *dh* to *t,* on the analogy of participles, adjectives, and nouns with stem in *nt* (cf. the shift to the *nt*-declension in *gimmanza* 'winter' : Skt. *hemantas* and *humanza* 'all' : Skt. *bhūman* 'earth', etc.). The change of *gṷ* to *kw* makes difficulty on account of *wemiyami* 'I come to, find' : IE **gṷem-, huwiyami* 'I flee' : IE **bheugṷ-,* and *walh-* 'strike' : Gk. βάλλω.[12] One must assume that *gṷ* before *o* became *kw,* although before other vowels it yielded *w.*

We have noticed that some instances of *w* after *u* are analogical restorations; but we must consider also the great mass of material where such an analogy does not suggest itself. We may turn first to the curious use of the orthography *uwa* for *wa.* Probably this usage arose at the beginning of a word, where the sound-group *kwa* could not be accurately written with cuneiform characters; the scribes could write *ku-at* or *ku-wa-at,* and they preferred the latter. It is not so easy to explain the use of *ku-u-wa* in the same value or of *šá-u-wa* for *šawa, ú-wa* for *wa, tu-u-ik* for *twik,* etc. Of the facts, however, there can be no question.

Particularly convincing are the words for which we have two

equivalent orthographies, such as these: (nom.) ˢᴬᴸ*ha-a-šá-u-wa-áš* (*KUB* 7. 1. 4. 5) : (acc.) ˢᴬᴸ*ha-a-šá-wa-an* (*ib.* 3. 10); (supine) *šá-a-ru-wa-u-wa-an-zi* (*KBo.* 4. 4. 4. 21) : (pret.) *šar-wa-it* (Götze, *Madd.* 156. 2. 30); *ši-ú-wa-ri-ya-wi* (Forrer, *Forschungen* 1. 260₅) = *ši-wa-ri-ya-wi* (*KUB* 19. 55. lower margin 4 = Forrer, *Forsch.* 1. 260. 53); *tu-u-ig-ga-áš* (*KUB* 15. 32. 1. 1) : *tu-e-ik-ki* (*KBo.* 5. 2. 1. 8);[13] *ú-wa-ah-nu-wa-ar* (*KBo.* 3. 5. 4. 30) = *wa-ah-nu-u-wa-ar* (*KUB* 1. 11. 1. 9); *ú-wa-áš-ta-i* (*KBo.* 3. 28. 2. 10 = 2*BoTU.* 10 γ 9) = *wa-áš-ta-a-i* (*KBo.* 3. 3. 2. 11); *ú-wi-te-na-áš* 'of water' (*KUB* 13. 3. 3. 1, 22) : *ú-e-te-na-az* 'from water' (*KBo.* 3. 2. 1. 4).

Scarcely less conclusive is the etymological proof implied in such forms as the following. Besides *ku-iš, ku-it* = Lat. *quis, quid* we have *ku-wa-at* 'why' = Lat. *quod*, and several other forms that must belong to the stem ***qᵘo-*, namely *ku-wa-pí* 'when, where', *ku-wa-pí-it* 'where', and *ku-wa-at-ta-an* 'whither'. I would add to the list *ku-wa-at-ta*, which seems to be equivalent to Lat. *quot*, Skt. *kati* 'how many', although it is used with a singular pronoun and verb. The word occurs in *KBo.* 3. 34 = 2*BoTU.* 12 A 2. 8-11: ¹*Aš-ga-li-ya-áš* ᵁᴿᵁ*Hu-ur-mi* EN-*áš* *e-eš-ta* *a-pa-a-áš-šá* *ku-wa-at-ta* *ku-wa-at-ta* LÙ. MEŠ *e-eš-ta* *šá-na-áš-ta* *at-ti-mi* *pa-ak-nu-ir* *šá-an* *ar-nu-ut* *šá-an* ᵁᴿᵁ*An-ku-i* IR. DI *šá-an* ᵁᴿᵁ*An-ku-i-pít* ᴸᵁ*ABRIG-an* *i-e-it*, 'Ašgaliyaš was ruler in Hurma, and all the people there[14] praised(?) him to my father. He sent for him; he came to Ankuaš; he made him keeper of the seal there in Ankuaš.' Similar cases of etymological proof that *uwa* may stand for *wa* are *ku-wa-áš-ki-it*, iterative-durative of *ku-en-ta* 'he struck', and *šá-ku-wa* 'eyes' : IE **oqᵘ-*.[15]

In this way many of the verb-forms with written *uwa* and *uwe* are to be explained. Sometimes one may interpret the *u* inserted before *wa* as intended for a double writing of the consonant,

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[13] Götze, *Madd.* 133, seems to interpret these and similar forms as indicating *tuwek-*, and he may be right. At any rate there is no reason to suppose that both *twek-* and *tuwek-* were heard.

[14] I. e. '*isque quot quot homines erat.*' Possibly, however, *ešta* is here present middle from *eš-* 'dwell', in which case it may be rendered by '*versatur*'.

[15] With pro-ethnic variation between forms with and without initial *s*? Cf. *Language* 3. 163.

e. g. *ha-an-da-u-wa-ar* (*KBo.* 1. 35. 10), *ka-ni-ni-ya-u-wa-ar* (*KBo.* 1. 42. 2. 43), *da-a-u-wa-ar* (*KBo.* 1. 53. 10), *ta-áš-ši-ya-u-wa-ar* (*KUB* 9. 4. 3. 38), *pu-nu-uš-ki-u-wa-ar* (*KBo.* 1. 44. 1. 12). But in the numerous cases like the following the written *uwa* must stand for *wa:* *e-šú-u-wa-ar* (*KBo.* 1. 42. 1. 7 f.) : *e-eš-zi* 'he is'; *har-ni-in-ku-u-ar* (*KBo.* 3. 4. 1. 36) : *har-ni-ik-zi* 'he destroys'; *kar-pu-u-wa-ar* (*KUB* 3. 105. 1. 5) : *kar-ap-zi* 'he takes'; *na-ah-hu-u-wa-áš* (*Hatt.* 4. 55) : *na-ah-ta* 'he feared'; *še-e-šú-wa-áš* (*KBo.* 5. 11. 4. 26) : *še-eš-zi* 'he sleeps'; *ši-pa-an-du-wa-áš* (*KBo.* 4. 13. 3. 33) : *ši-ip-pa-an-du-ar* (*KBo.* 1. 42. 4. 44), *ši-pa-an-ti* 'he pours a libation'; *du-wa-ar-nu-wa-ar* (*KUB* 3. 95. 8) : *tu-wa-ar-ni-iz-zi* 'he breaks'; *wa-ar-pu-u-ar* (*KUB* 7. 10. 5. 3) : *wa-ar-ap-zi* 'he washes'; *wa-áš-šú-u-wa-ar* (*KBo.* 1. 45. 1. 7) : *wa-áš-šá-an-zi* 'they clothe', *ú-e-eš-ten*.

The supine suffixes *wanzi* and *wan* are also frequently preceded by a non-phonetic *u*; e. g. *wa-al-hu-u-an-zi* (*KUB* 14. 1. 66), *wa-al-ah-hu-wa-an-zi* (*KBo.* 5. 8. 1. 8) *wa-al-ah-zi* 'he smites'; *wa-ar-pu-u-wa-an-zi* (Ehelolf, *KF* 1. 155) : *wa-ar-ap-zi; ka-ri-pu-u-wa-an* (*KBo.* 3. 1. 1. 21) : *ka-ra-ap-pí* 'he devours'; *tar-ah-hu-u-wa-an* (*KBo.* 3. 7. 3. 25) : *tar-ah-zi* 'he conquers'.

Since the non-phonetic *u* is more frequent before the sign *wa* than before *w* written with a vowel sign, there are relatively few cases of this phenomenon in the first personal forms ending in *weni* or *wen*. I can cite only these: *še-ik-ku-u-e-ni* (*KUB* 5. 7. 1. 26) = *še-ik-ku-e-ni* (*KBo.* 5. 3. 2. 71), *4-ya-ah-ha-ah-hu-wa-ni* (*KUB* 9. 4. 2. 35),[16] *kar-ap-pu-u-e-ni* (Delaporte, *Gramm.* 68) : *kar-ap-zi, ešuwen* (*ib.* 65) : *e-eš-zi*.

In many words, however, orthographic *uwa, uwi*, etc. represent the pronunciation. This is due to recomposition in the frequent sentence opening *nu-wa-na-áš*, consisting of the connective *nu*, the particle of direct quotation *wa*, and the enclitic pronoun *naš* 'us', and in similar conglomerates. If I am right in connecting *huwiyami* 'I flee' with Lat. *fugio* on the basis of PIE **bhugu̯io-*,[17] the change of *gu̯* to *w* must have been subsequent to the change of *u̯* to *m* after *u*.

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[16] Cf. *pa-u-i-wa-ni* (*KUB* 9. 34. 3. 33), *pa-i-wa-ni* (*Yale Tablet* 1. 33 = *TAPA* 58. 23), etc.

[17] *Language* 3. 114, 210 f.

In numerous instances *w* after *u* has developed out of a con-
sonantal glide. That this is so in *par-ku-u-eš-šú-un* (*KUB* 1. 1.
1. 39) 'I was acquitted' beside *par-ku-e-eš-zi* 'he is acquitted'
from *parkuiš* 'pure' is shown by other derivatives in *eš* from
i-stems, such as *nakkeš-* 'be heavy' from *nakkiš* 'heavy'.[18]
Similar are case-forms of *u*-stems (*genuwaš, aššuwaš, wappuwaš*)
and derivative verbs in *a(i)* from *u*-stems (e. g. *ku-u-ut-ru-wa-
a-iz-zi* 'he attests before witnesses' from *kutruš* 'witness').[19]

From verbs whose stem ends in *u* we find in the third plural
present and in the participle such forms as these: *a-še-šá-nu-
wa-an-zi* (*KBo.* 2. 6. 3. 45); *wa-ar-nu-wa-an-zi* as well as *wa-ar-
nu-an-zi* 'they burn' beside the infinitival genitive *wa-ar-nu-
ma-áš; hat-at-ki-eš-nu-wa-an-te-eš* 'destroyed' (*KBo.* 4. 4. 2. 5);
pa-ah-šá-nu-wa-an-za 'protected' (*KBo.* 3. 57 = *2BoTU.* 20. 3.
9); *wa-ah-nu-wa-an* 'turned' beside *wa-ah-nu-mar, wa-ah-nu-
ma-an-zi*. From *au-* 'see' we have noted *a-ú-me-en* 'we saw';
Forrer and Delaporte[20] report *aummeni* 'we see', of which
ú-me-e-ni (*KBo.* 3. 60 = *2BoTU.* 21. 1. 11) seems to be a vari-
ant. From the same root we have *ú-wa-an-zi* 'they see' (*KUB*
13. 4. 3. 29), and middle forms such as *ú-wa-an-ta-at* (*KUB* 8.
80. 10), *ú-wa-ah-ha-ru* (*KUB* 14. 14. 2. 30).[21]

The numerous instances of *w* after *u* do not, then, disprove
our prehistoric phonetic laws, according to which *uu̯* and *əu̯*
became *um*. Some of these words have graphic *uw* for spoken
w; in others the *w* is due to recomposition or to a phonetic
development subsequent to the change of *uu̯* to *um*.

All of the suffixes which we have been examining in their
Hittite form are extensively represented in IE also. To the
infinitival nouns in *war* or *mar* correspond a few *r/n*-stems, such
as πεῖραρ 'end' from *περϝαρ, εἶδαρ 'food' from *εδϝαρ, λῦμαρ
'offscourings.' This type of noun, however, was on the point
of disappearing at the beginning of our IE records, and so we

[18] Cf. Götze, *KF* 1. 181.
[19] See Götze, *Madd.* 81-100; Sturtevant, *Language* 5. 8-14.
[20] Forrer, *ZDMG* 76. 214; Delaporte, *Gramm.* 77.
[21] Possibly some of the above forms should be read with *uwa = wa*
(*parkwešun, parkwešzi*, etc.); but it is unlikely that the third plural of
au- was *wanzi*, especially since the orthography *wa-an-zi-* is unknown.
I am strongly inclined to assume dissyllabic pronunciation of *uwa* in
all the words just discussed and in many others.

more often find neuter ṷen- or men-stems, e. g. λῦμα, πῶμα
'drink', Skt. parva 'knot' (cognate with πεῖραρ), 'agrādvan-
'eating first' (-advan-: εἶδαρ). To match the infinitival geni-
tives in waš or maš we find an oblique case (dative or locative)
of ṷen- and men-stems; e. g. Cyprian δοϝεναι (see below, fn. 25),
Aeolic δόμεναι 'to give', Vedic dāvane 'to give', Avestan stao-
maine 'to praise'. The Hittite supine in wan or man must be
another case-form of the same r/n-stem which yielded the infini-
tives. The supine in wanzi or manzi is a locative from the PIE
suffix ṷent or ment.[22] In the IE languages the suffixes ṷent and
ment are almost confined to the formation of secondary adjec-
tives, such as Skt. apavant- 'watery', madhumant- 'honied',
Gk. ὀπόεις 'juicy'. The connection of ṷent and ment with ṷen
and men is obvious,[23] however; the two pairs are virtually
equivalent in their use to form adjectives, and the extension of
suffixes by t is familiar in nouns as well as in adjectives (cf.
Lat. iuventa = iuventās, Skt. gurutā = Gk. βαρύτης, Gk. μνηστύς :
Lat. virtūs, Lat. cōgnōmen : cōgnōmentum, Gk. ὄνομα :
ὀνόματος).

The IE languages show various endings in the first plural,
but all the evidence indicates that the IE parent speech had
endings beginning with m, which is certainly to be identified
with the initial sound of Hittite meni (primary) and men
(secondary). As is shown by Indo-Iranian, Germanic, and
Balto-Slavic, IE had first dual endings beginning with ṷ, which
corresponds with the initial of Hittite weni and wen.

The distribution of the consonants ṷ and m has been so far
altered by analogy in the IE languages that the phonological
basis of the alternation has not been recognized. Nevertheless
there are indications that the situation here is an outgrowth of
something very similar to what we find in Hittite.

Most striking is the affinity of the suffix mant for u-stems in
Indo-Iranian. In Sanskrit mant is very rarely attached to
a-stems, but it is more common than vant with u-stems. In
Avestan mant is chiefly used with u-stems, while vant is chiefly
confined to other types of noun.[24]

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[22] For the change of ti to zi, see Language 4. 228-31.

[23] See Brugmann, Grundriss der Vergleichenden Grammatik der Indo-
germanischen Sprachen 2₂. 1. 401, 465.

[24] See Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar₂, pp. 473-6; Jackson, Avesta
Grammar, pp. 233, 235. See footnote 11, p. 330.

In primitive IE the suffix *men* largely supplanted the old by-form *u̯en* in forming action nouns; but there are a few survivals of the latter in infinitival function. Vedic *dāvane* and Cyprian δοϝεναι [25] correspond perfectly with Hittite *dawar*. Aeolic δόμεναι must be an analogical adaptation of *δυμεναι.[26] An interesting trace of the origin of the *men*-suffix is general Gk. ὄνυμα 'name' from PIE ***onumr̥*, earlier ***onou̯r̥* (base *onō-*); the Attic-Ionic ὄνομα owes its second *o* to assimilation, and *v* remains in the compound ἀνώνυμος, since no *o* precedes. Lat. *nōmen*, and Skt. *nāma* represent PIE ***nōu̯r̥*, with the IE spread of the suffix-form *men*.

The personal endings beginning with *u̯* and *m* suffered a more thorough re-distribution during IE times. Everywhere the first plural has endings beginning with *m*, and wherever the first dual survives its ending begins with *u̯*. (e. g. Skt. *ivas* 'we two go', *imas* 'we go').[27] Many of the historical forms may well have been inherited from PIE times (e. g. Gk. ὄρνυμεν 'we cause to move' == Hittite *ar-nu-um-me-ni—KUB* 4. 1. 2. 6); but a majority of the plural forms and many of the dual forms must be analogical (e. g. Skt. *bhavāmas*, Gk. λύομεν).

There are, however, a few traces of our phonetic laws. We have noticed (above and fn. 26) that the first personal forms of ***dō-* led to an infinitival noun ***dumr̥*, whence Aeolic δόμεναι. The *u* spread beyond the forms with suffix in *u̯/m*, and yielded a new root with *nil*-grade *u* and analogical full grade *eu*, from which we get Lat. *duim*, *perduās*, Umbrian *purdouito* 'porricito', Lith. *daviau* 'I gave', etc.

Lat. *volumus* 'we desire' beside non-thematic *vult* and *vultis*

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[25] This form is usually transcribed δοϝεναι, on account of the *o* of Aeolic δόμεναι; but the long vowel which actually appears in the Vedic cognate is the only one that is phonologically justified. Attic-Ionic δοῦναι is from *δοεναι, just as θεῖναι == Arcadian θῆναι is from *θεεναι; cf. Brugmann-Thumb, *Griechische Grammatik*₄ 411.

[26] This form itself was the result of analogy (see above, p. 362). It may have arisen at any time from the PIE period on; some such formula as this may represent the process (assuming that Hittite *tarna-* comes from a base *tornā-*) : ***tr̥numen* (first pl.) : **tornum_enai == **dumen : **dum_enai.

[27] See Brugmann, *Grund.* 2₂. 3. 616 ff., 639 ff.

has required rather a complicated explanation.[28] I prefer to see in *volumus* the full grade ***ųelə-* from a base *ųelē-* (cf. Church Slavonic *velěti* ' to order ', Doric λῆν ' to will ' from *ϝλη-).[29] In this word, as in the preceding, *u* spread beyond its proper territory, and so we have in Latin not only *volunt* for phonologically correct *velent but also *volup* and *voluptās* ' pleasure '.

Since *m* for original *ų* after *u* or *ə* appears both in Hittite and in the IE languages, the change must be ascribed to the period before Hittite separated from the parent stock. The IE languages which preserve the formations here under discussion agree in two innovations that are not shared by Hittite; namely the use of *men* rather than *ųen* in forming action nouns, and the assignment of personal endings beginning with *ų* to the dual and of those beginning with *m* to the plural. It is so unlikely that the several languages would make just these changes independently that we must ascribe at least the earlier stages of the process to the parent language. But, since Hittite does not share them, Hittite must already have separated from the parent speech. This is one more proof of Forrer's discovery that Hittite is an offshoot of Pre-Indo-European co-ordinate with the Indo-European parent language.[30, 31]

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[28] See Sommer, *Handbuch der Lateinischen Laut- und Formenlehre* 533.

[29] See Brugmann, *Kurze Vergleichende Grammatik* 505, 611; Boisacq, *Dictionnaire Étymologique de la Langue Grecque* 577 f. I do not share the skepticism expressed by Walde-Pokorny, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Indogermanischen Sprachen* 2. 393.

[30] See Forrer, *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 61. 26; Kretschmer, *Glotta*, 14. 300-19; Sturtevant, *Language*, 2. 29-34, 4. 169 f.

[31] The statistics published by Bender, *The Suffixes mant and vant in Sanskrit and Avestan* 11, 24, 27, show that the original distribution of these suffixes is more accurately preserved in Sanskrit than was stated above (p. 367). In Rig-Veda and Atharva-Veda stems in *u, ū,* and *o* constitute more than half of all vowel stems with the suffix *mant,* while *vant* is used almost exclusively after *a* and *ā* and usually after *ī.* On Avestan, see Bender, p. 81.

THREE ETYMOLOGIES IN EARLY CELTIC.

I. Gaulish *exacum*.

The Gaulish name for a variety of centaury is given by Pliny (*Hist. nat.* XXV, 68) as *exacum*: "Est alterum centaurium cognomine lepton . . . quod aliqui libadeon vocant . . . Quidam caules concisos madefaciunt diebus XVIII atque ita exprimunt. Hoc centaurium nostri fel terrae vocant propter amaritudinem summam, Galli exacum, quoniam omnia mala medicamenta potum e corpore exigat per alvum". Since the plant's name is so obviously described as based on its cathartic properties, the proposal [1] to connect *exaucum* (Gaulish nom. **exaucos*, acc. **exaucon*) with Mid. Bret. *eaug* < **ehaug*, Mod. Bret. *éok, éog* "ripe, rotting" as being for a Celtic **ex-āc-o-* "having lost its sharpness", because its macerated stalks were often soaked for days in water, seems scarcely probable.[2] If one may suppose that *exacum*, which occurs but once (apparently without variant readings), is erroneously written for **exagum*,[3] the latter is seen to be the exact Gaulish equivalent of Lat. **exigus : exigo* < **ex-ago* (cf. Gaul. *ex-*, O. Ir. *ess-*, etc., Lat. *ex*; O. Ir. *agaim* "drive", Lat. *ago*).[4] The form **exago-* shows that Celtic once possessed the same combination which appears in Latin *exigo* and Greek ἐξάγω. For the meaning of Gaul. **exago-* "purgative, cathartic" cf. Med. Lat. *exagium* "examen, purgatio, iudicium Dei" and Gk. ἐξαγωγή "ejectment" (legal term), "evacuation" (medical term).

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[1] W. Stokes, *Urkeltischer Sprachschatz*, Göttingen, 1894, p. 26; A. Holder, *Alt-Celtischer Sprachschatz*, Leipzig, 1896 sqq., I, 1487; E. Ernault, *Glossaire moyen-breton*, Paris, 1895, pp. 200-201; V. Henry, *Lexique étymologique . . . du breton moderne*, Rennes, 1900, p. 115. There seems to be no cogent evidence for *ā* rather than *ă* in the word.

[2] Like doubts were expressed by G. Dottin, *Manuel pour servir à l'étude de l'antiquité celtique*, 2d ed., Paris, 1915, p. 74.

[3] Cf. Dottin, *La Langue gauloise*, Paris, 1920, p. 63, although, as he observes (cf. Holder, I, 650), in alternative writings with *c* and *g*, the former is generally original.

[4] For further cognates see, e. g., A. Walde, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 2d ed., Heidelberg, 1910, pp. 260, 21.

II. The Name of the Isle of Man.

Regarding the Isle of Man, Nennius (*Hist. Brit.* 8) writes: " Secunda [insula] sita est in umbilico maris inter Hiberniam et Brittanniam et vocatur nomen eius Eubonia, id est Manau "; the Mid. Ir. version (ed. J. H. Todd, Dublin, 1848, Chap. III) similarly has " Abonia . . . ·i· Manand ". The more usual form of the second name is Mŏna (also Mevania [insula], proba-bly by transposition from *Menavia, *Manavia), Móva, Mŵva, Ang.-Sax. Mon-íg, Mid. Ir. Inis Manann; [5] and Nennius clearly states that Eubonia and Manau are equivalent in meaning, so that one may have here two appellations for an island lying roughly half-way between Britain and Ireland, one Brythonic and the other Goidelic.

If the form Eubonia may be for *Ebonia [insula],[6] this may represent an earlier *Eponia [7] and may be connected with the wide-spread group of Gaul. *epo-*, O. Ir. *ech* " horse ", O. Corn. *ebol*, Mid. Wel. *ebawl*, Mid. Bret. *ebeul* " colt " < *epāli-;[8] it would thus be a true Brythonic form. On the other hand, Manau appears to be as truly Goidelic. It represents O. Ir. Manu (Mod. Ir. Mana, gen. Manann, dat. Manainn) < *Mandien-;[9] and seems to be cognate with Lat. *mannus* " sort of horse ", N. H. Germ. (Tyrolese) *Menz* " barren cow ", etc., the ultimate source being non-Indo-European (cf. Basque *mando* " mule ").[10] *Mandien- and *Eponio- would seem to mean, in Goidelic and Brythonic respectively, " Horse-(Island) ".[11]

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[5] For the various forms and the passages in which they occur see Holder, II, 621-622.

[6] Cf. Gaul. Ebonicus, Ebonius beside Eubona (Holder, I, 1394, 1483).

[7] Cf. the Gaulish name Eponius (Holder, I, 1450).

[8] Cf. H. Pedersen, *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen*, Göttingen, 1909-13, I, 36; II, 54; for cognates see Holder, I, 1446; Stokes, p. 26; Dottin, *Langue*, p. 98; Henry, p. 109; Walde, p. 257; Walde-Porkorny, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen*, Berlin, 1926 sqq., I, 113.

[9] Cf. Pedersen, II, 110.

[10] Holder, II, 409-410; Walde, p. 462; O. Schrader, *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, 2d. ed., Berlin, 1917-28. I, 41; II, 171; G. Meyer, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der albanesischen Sprache*, Strass-burg, 1891, p. 276.

[11] For a summary of other views see J. Kneen, *Place-Names of the Isle of Man*, Douglas, 1925-27, I, pp. xxii-xxiv.

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III. The Name of Les Andelys (Eure).

Grand Andely, about one kilomètre from the Seine, is older by six hundred years than its neighbour Petit Andely, and is mentioned early in the sixth century in the *Vita Sanctae Chrotildis*, 11, where the saint "fecit et aliud monasterium super fluvium Sequane in loco qui dicitur Andéleius non longe a muris civitatis Rotomagensis". This name Andeleius is most probably for *Andelēgius < *Andelēkios, and is composed of the intensive Celtic prefix *ande- (Gaul. ande-, O. Ir. ind-, O. Bret. an-, Wel. an-, en-)[12] with *lēunkio-, an adjective formed on the noun *lēunk-s, found in O. Ir. lia (gen. liac[c]), Bret. liac'h "stone", cognate with Hom. λᾶιγξ "little stone", λᾶινος "stony", λᾶας "stone".[13] The Gallo-Latin name would, then, have been *Andelēcius [vicus] "Town of the Mighty Stone", deriving its appellation from the high cliff overhanging the Seine, which is still crowned by the ruins of Château Gaillard, the "lovely daughter of a year" of Richard the Lion-Hearted.

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STATIUS: *SILVAE* III. v. 93.

Various scholars have felt, and rightly so, that there has been some flaw in the transmission of this line: it creates a dissonance in the famous description of Neapolitan amenities:

89   Quid nunc magnificas species cultusque locorum
90   templaque ⟨et⟩ innumeris spatia interstincta columnis,
     et geminam molem nudi tectique theatri,
     et Capitolinis quinquennia proxima lustris,
     quid laudem litus libertatemque Menandri,
     quam Romanus honos et Graia licentia miscent?
95   nec desunt variae circa oblectamina vitae:
     sive vaporiferas, blandissima litora, Baias, . . .

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[12] Holder, I, 139, 144; III, 614 (the etymology proposed by him seems open to grave doubt) ; Pedersen, I, 45; II, 10; for variant forms, including Andelegum, Andeliacus, see de Blosseville, *Dictionnaire topographique du département de l'Eure*, Paris, 1878, p. 5; for older etymologies see Porée, *Guide du touriste aux Andelys*, 2d ed., Les Andelys, 1893, p. 7.

[13] Cf. Pedersen, I, 251; Walde, p. 419; Boisacq, pp. 546-547; Walde-Pokorny, II, 405-406; Ernault, pp. 365-366; Henry, p. 186.

The fault surely does not lie in *Menandri* (although Philli-more thought so and was attracted by the conjecture *meandi,* and Grasberger proposed *morandi*), but in *litus;* and for this word a sounder means of correction lies to hand than the *lites, lusus, risus,* and *ritus* that have been suggested. Restore *ludos;* the corruption can easily be explained, as confusion between *d* and *t, o* and *u,* is frequent, and if the *li-* was not due to the first syllable of *libertatemque* which follows, then after the end of *ludos* had been corrupted to *-tus,* a puzzled reader may have been influenced to make sense by his eye's glancing at the *litora* of line 96. The *hendiadys* which results from our restoration is quite in the manner of Statius, and would have been considered a felicitous mode of describing " the vivacious plays of Menander."

Thus restored, the whole passage acquires unity and coher-ence. Starting with the matter of buildings in general in line 89, and temples and colonnades in 90, the interest is con-centrated in 91 on the theatres, and in 92 it is focussed on the festivals of which they were, at least in part, the scene, until in 93 and 94 there is reached the climax, describing the plays of Menander which were the quintessence of truly Roman dignity blended with Greek audacity (*licentia,* which if applied to conduct would be opprobrious, is in place as a term of literary criticism)—a contrast to the *clamosi turba theatri* of the Capital, which had been disparaged in line 16; the progression of interest is from the material to the intellectual. The repetition of *quid* from line 89 to 93 serves to keep lines 93 and 94 in close connection with what precedes; it is only with the *nec desunt* of 95 that there is a sharp change in the subject-matter.

This emendation appears to render it unnecessary to have recourse to the extremely subtle interpretations which are recorded in Vollmer's commentary.

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AN EARLY USE OF THE ACCENTUAL CLAUSULA

A chance observation a few weeks ago has brought up again the fascinating problem of the origin of the accentual clausula in Latin prose. In revising Clark and Game's " First Latin," for a new edition, I am proceeding on the now apparently discarded theory that children should learn Latin by reading some real Latin, and not altogether stories constructed in a dubious American version of what little Willie saw in Rome. With this out-dated method in mind, I took up Petronius, again relishing his comment on the modern pedagogical methods of his day: " nisi (doctores) dixerint quae adulescentuli probent, ut ait Cicero, "soli in scholis relinquentur.' " In my search for material suit-able for *adulescentuli,* I was struck by what seemed an unmis-takable lilt to the rhythm. To my astonishment, a vast majority of the clause-endings fell into the forms with which I was fami-liar from early studies in Ammianus Marcellinus and other prose writers from the fourth century onward, on which Prof. A. M. Harmon of Yale produced a classic thesis. I rubbed my eyes, sure I must be mistaken; but more careful study, and compar-ison with Livy, Tacitus and others, brought conviction that Petronius had dallied, at least, with the rhetorical device which has embellished prose writing from that Roman History of old Ammian to Blackmore's Lorna Doone, to take a conspicuous modern example.

The life of a traveling lecturer, who for ten years has averaged 35,000 miles a year, and whose scanty leisure for sustained study is spent mainly in a remote (if lovely) Canadian village, does not encourage keeping abreast of current research in such pro-blems. It seemed incredible that this phenomenon had not been investigated in detail by some competent scholar. My appeals, however, to former colleagues and pupils in this country, more fortunately situated, brought no definite information—indeed, led to a warning from one of them that the learned world would consider me unbalanced. But before I left my lakeside dwelling in Quebec, I had received encouragement from my good friend Wilhelm Heraeus, who called my attention to the suspicion pre-viously voiced by the distinguished professor of Corpus Christi

College, Oxford—A. C. Clark; and almost in the same mail came a letter from A. C. Clark himself, enclosing a copy of his paper, "The Cursus in Mediaeval and Vulgar Latin," read to the Oxford Philological Society on Feb. 18, 1910. In this most stimulating study, Clark not only quotes a long passage from Petronius, in which every clausula save one falls into this cadence, but even a letter of Cicero's unexceptionable in this regard.

Nearly twenty years have passed since this study of A. C. Clark's, and I find no evidence of serious investigation along these lines, whose extraordinary fruitfulness may be judged by reference to Harmon's thesis, pronounced in its day by a distinguished critic " a veritable gold mine of facts about the Latin language." A young German scholar, to be sure, Paul Kempe, writing at Greifswald in 1922, brought out a study "De Clausulis Petronianis "; and thanks to the friendly offices of Prof. David M. Robinson of Johns Hopkins, I am able to quote from the published abstract of his disseriation. This is a tabulation of the *quantitative* clausulae; he dismisses the efforts of A. C. Clark to prove *accentual* rhythm in Petronius with the words: " den sogenannten cursus mixtus des 4. nachchristlichen Jahrhunderts bereits . . . bei Petron anzusetzen . . . halte ich für ausgeschlossen." These, by the way, are almost the exact words in which Krumbacher years ago endeavored to dissuade me from setting a promising pupil at work on Procopius, whose Gothic History seemed to me composed in this rhythm; I could not however be convinced, and Henry B. Dewing published a Yale thesis on this theme, as valuable in the light it threw on the late Greek as was Harmon's in the field of Latin.

Unfortunately the brief and hurried time at my disposal the past few weeks has not permitted the exhaustive treatment of this subject, on which I had hoped to present a summary. Such a treatment, pending the appearance of Prof. Sage's edition, would necessarily begin with a thorough study of the text, requiring perhaps even a recollation; I note, e. g., two or three cases where restoration of the best MS reading would give a correct accentual clausula, not at present in the accepted text. Without such a fundamental background, all investigation must be tentative; it is like dealing with a text of Virgil whose editor is skeptical of the hexameter. Kempe is probably correct in postu-

ORIENTAL ELEMENTS IN PETRONIUS.

The art of Petronius in suiting language to character has often been noticed.[1] It has been pointed out, for example, that the Greeks in the Cena are recognizable by peculiarities in their speech.[2] On the other hand, Professor Tenney Frank's calculations have demonstrated the preponderance of the Oriental element in the Rome and Italy of the early Empire.[3] Trimalchio himself proclaims his Asiatic origin,[4] and we should certainly expect that some of his guests were similarly derived. If Petronius is as skilful a realist in suiting his speeches to his characters as his critics have shown him to be, we might logically expect to find certain Oriental elements in the speech of the guests at the Cena.

The process of assimilation whereby the Easterners took on the habits and speech of Rome went on constantly,[5] yet traces of Eastern origin must have persisted for two or more generations, in idiom if not in pronunciation, and in habits of thought if not in outward behaviour. Organization of foreign groups according to ethnic origins [6] would tend to perpetuate racial peculiarities. Conversation among peoples of foreign extraction in New York is apt to betray foreign traces, and the same condition must have prevailed in Rome. I submit for consideration the following examples from the Satyricon: [7]

[1] F. F. Abbott, The Use of Language as a Means of Characterization in Petronius, *Classical Philology* II (1907), 43-50.

[2] Abbott, *loc. cit.*; A. H. Salonius, Die Griechen und das Griechische in Petrons Cena Trimalchionis, Helsingfors and Leipzig 1927 (known to me only through the review of G. Meyer in *Gnomon* V (1929), 144-150).

[3] Race Mixture in the Roman Empire, *American Historical Review* XXI (1915-1916), 689-708; and Economic History of Rome, ch. X.

[4] Satyricon 29. 3, 75. 10.

[5] For instances of assimilation through Romanization of names, see Mary L. Gordon, The Nationality of Slaves under the Early Roman Empire, *Journal of Roman Studies* XIV (1924), 93-111.

[6] See especially George LaPiana, Foreign Groups in Rome During the First Centuries of the Empire, *Harvard Theological Review* XX (1927), 183-403.

[7] I am not here considering oriental affinities of the romance as a whole, such as are suggested by Karl Kerenyi, Die Griechisch-Orienta-

26. 9   Trimalchio.   Friedlaender [8] cites the opinion of Bücheler that the name is Semitic.   There can be little doubt that -malchio represents the root מלך, which is frequently used like its equivalent rex for a very wealthy or elegant person; the tri- is an intensive prefix as in trifur, trismegistus.

31. 2   Vinum dominicum ministratoris gratia est.   Friedlaender puts the emphasis on dominicum: "Die gratia ministratoris besteht darin, dass er vinum dominicum, nicht einen geringeren vorsetzt."   But in Babylonian Talmud, Baba Kama 92b, an Aramaic proverb occurs: "The wine is the master's, the thanks the butler's." [9]   Our passage seems to be simply a parallel of this proverb.

34. 8   Potantibus . . . larvam argenteam attulit servus. Though the famous Bosco Reale cup shows the skeleton used as an ornamental design, with probably the same purpose of serving as a memento mori, the origin of the custom is almost certainly Eastern.   Herodotus II 78 says that wealthy Egyptians had skeletons brought in at their banquets, and Plutarch, whose testimony may be independent, also refers to this practise.[10] The memento mori motive in connection with the enjoyment of food and drink is frequent in Scriptures: Isaiah 22. 13, 56. 12; Eccles. 2. 24; Luke 12. 19; I Cor. 15. 32.

35.   On this chapter Sage [11] remarks that Trimalchio's "exactness in astrology is amazing when we think of his capacity for blundering in history, geography, and mythology." It is of course what we should expect of an Oriental.

37. 8   nummorum nummos; cf. 43. 8 olim oliorum.   This usage is often explained as a Hebraism (e. g. by Friedlaender) on the analogy of Song of Songs, Vanity of vanities, Heaven of heavens, etc.   Suess says categorically: [12]   "Nil exstat in his sermonibus, quod merito possit ad auctoritatem patrii sermonis

lische Romanliteratur, Tübingen, 1927; of this work see Indices IV and VI.

[8] L. Friedlaender, Petronii Cena Trimalchionis etc.,[2] Leipzig 1906.

[9] חמרא למריה טיבותא לשקייה

[10] Sept. Sep. Conviv. 148 A, quoted in the Petronius edition of P. Burmann (Amsterdam 1743), p. 194.

[11] Evan T. Sage, Petronius, The Satiricon, New York and London 1929.

[12] Guilelmus Suess, Petronii imitatio sermonis plebei qua necessitate coniungatur cum grammatica illius aetatis doctrina, Dorpat 1927, p. 8.

syriaci aut hebraici revocari." He adduces parallels to the pres-
ent usage from Vergil, Catalepton 5. 6, and Varro, L. L. VII 27,
neither of which seems convincing.

37. 10   Babaecalis.   No satisfactory explanation of this word
has been offered.   Mr. Sedgwick reports:[13]   " Mr. Ulric Gan-
tillon suggests that the word may be a pretentious and deroga-
tory inflation of the Persian *beg* (Turkish *bey*)." However that
may be I feel sure that this word as well as *burdubasta* (45. 11;
see below) and perhaps *tangomenas* (34. 7 and 73. 6) are trans-
literated Oriental words.   I would call attention to the late
Professor W. R. Newbold's article, *Five Transliterated Aramaic
Inscriptions*,[14] and especially to his interpretation of C. I. L. IV
760,[15] where he makes the unintelligible letters TCLOfTORGC
into Aramaic words quite in keeping with the obscenity of the
Latin part of the inscription, and quite worthy of one of
Trimalchio's guests.

37. 10   In rutae folium. Martial XI 13. 5 makes it clear that
this expression is a proverbial one for small size. " A leaf of
myrtle " is frequently used in a similar sense in rabbinic writ-
ings.[16]   The leaves of rue and myrtle are not dissimilar.

38. 13   Sociorum olla male fervet.   An exact parallel to this
proverb in Erubin 3a and Baba Batra 24b has been pointed out
by W. Bacher:[17] " A pot which is the common property of a
number of partners is neither cold nor hot." [18]   Friedlaender
corrects the note of his first edition on the basis of this sug-
gestion.

41. 3   Servus tuus.   The use of this phrase by a free person
for the sake of politeness seems unparalleled in Latin.   It is
the regular Hebrew usage.   The lexicon of Brown, Driver,
Briggs, s. v. עֶבֶד 6 says: " In polite address of equals or supe-
riors the Hebrews used עַבְדְּךָ = tuus servus *thy servant* = 1
person sing. *I* ".   Examples are cited from Genesis 18. 3, I Sam.
20. 7, 8, II Kings 8. 13, etc.

41. 12   Matus.   The usual explanation of this word is that

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[13] W. B. Sedgwick, *Classical Review* XXXIX (1925), p. 117.
[14] In *American Journal of Archaeology* XXX (1926), pp. 288-329.
[15] *Ibid.*, p. 295.
[16] טַרְפָא דְאָסָא bHullin 47b, and elsewhere.
[17] In *Jewish Quarterly Review* IV (1892), pp. 168-170.
[18] קְדִירָא דְּבֵי שׁוּתְּפֵי לָא קְרִירָא וְלָא חֲמִימָא

of e. g. Sedgwick:[19] "vulg. for *madidus,* itself slang." $\sqrt{\text{M T}}$ is the common Semitic root for *died, dead, corpse* (*met, mit, mat,* for Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic respectively). Is not this the sort of expression that might continue, in a Latinized form, in the speech of Trimalchio and his associates?

42. 2 Cor nostrum cotidie liquescit. This seems to be a Semitic conceit. Cf. Joshua 7. 5: "Wherefore the hearts of the people melted and became as water." Psalms 22. 14: "I am poured out like water: my heart also in the midst of my body is even like melting wax."

42. 2 Nec sane lavare potui; fui enim hodie in funus. Roman usage did not forbid a mourner to wash, and the present passage seems to indicate some sort of ritual prohibition rather than simply preoccupation. Such a prohibition does occur in the Talmud, Moed Katan 15b: "A mourner may not wash".[20] Furthermore prohibition of bathing, as well as of certain other physical comforts, was always understood as being involved in any fast.

44. 3 Serva me, servabo te. Similar expressions may be found in all languages, as for example our "Scratch my back and I'll scratch yours"; but Baba Mezia 80a has a literal version of the present passage.[21]

44. 14 Nunc populus est domi leones, foras vulpes. This antithesis occurs frequently in Greek, being found as far back as Aristophanes, Pax 1189. It may be worth mentioning, however, that the proverbial expression seems implied in a passage in the Talmud, Baba Kama 117b: "The lion you spoke of [when he was at a great distance] has turned into a fox [now that he is here]."[22] The rabbis frequently use "lion" to denote a distinguished or worthy person,[23] and *leones* in 44. 4 is a parallel to this usage: "o si haberemus illos leones, quos ego hic inveni, cum primum ex Asia veni."

44. 17 Nemo ieiunium servat. Fasting was rare among the Romans and the *ieiunium Cereris* appears to be the only fast

[19] W. B. Sedgwick, The Cena Trimalchionis of Petronius, Oxford 1925.

[20] וזרל אהיך ו.איריאה

[21] קימו לי ואקימא

[22] אדי שאמרה נעמה כוייל

[23] M. Jastrow, A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud, etc., I, p. 118.

that was kept annually, so that Friedlaender can say, " Vielleicht stand im Original: Nemo Cereris jejunium servat." To Eastern peoples fasting was very familiar. The Pharisees fasted on Mondays and Thursdays and on numerous special occasions. An entire treatise of the Talmud, Taanit,[24] is devoted to the regulation of fast days, especially those proclaimed for seasons of drouth.

44. 18 · Iovem aquam exorabant: itaque statim urceatim plovebat. The following story from Taanit was widely known, and may conceivably have been in the mind of the speaker: " Honi the ·Circle-drawer was therefore asked to pray that rain should fall. . . . He then drew a circle and placed himself in its center, and said . . . ' I swear by Thy great Name that I will not move from here until Thou showest mercy to Thy children '. . . . The rain then came down with vehemence, each drop as big as the opening of a barrel." [25]

45. 8   Sed qui asinum non potest stratum caedit. The identical proverb is found in the Midrash, Tanhuma P'kude 4.[26]

45. 11   Burdubasta. The exact phonetic transliteration of this word into Aramaic gives the meaning " pit of shamefulness ".[27] This explanation of this word seems to me more plausible than any heretofore suggested.

46. 8   Primigeni. This not uncommon slave name is perhaps a reflection of the special privileges accorded to the firstborn son among Semitic peoples.[28] Here it may not be a proper name, but used as in the address of Jacob to Reuben, Genesis 49. 3 : " Reuben, thou art my firstborn, my might, and the beginning of my strength."

46. 8   Quidquid discis tibi discis. Cf. Proverbs 9. 12 : " If thou be wise, thou shalt be wise for thyself."

47. 1   Unguento manus lavit. Burmann comments : [29] " non

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[24] This treatise is excellently edited and translated in the Schiff Library of Jewish Classics, by H. Malter, Philadelphia 1928.

[25] The translation is that of Malter, *op. cit.*, pp. 167 f.

[26] מי שאינו יכול להכות לחמור מכה את האוכף

[27] בור דבשתא

[28] S. A. Cook in Encyc. Biblica, s. v. Firstborn (II 1525). The word constituted an honorable title among the Semites; see W. Robertson Smith, The Religion of the Semites[2], pp. 458 ff.

[29] *Op. cit.*, p. 314.

succurrat similis luxuriae exemplum." The Mischa mentions the custom of scenting the hands at meals by means of incense passed on a brazier.[30] Lavish use of perfumery is characteristic of Eastern countries; scriptural references illustrating such use (though not for the washing of hands) are: Canticles 3. 6; Proverbs 7. 17; Psalms 45. 9; Luke 7.46.

52. 3 Petraitis. Sedgwick notes:[31] " Cognomen of Lycian god *Men,* Lebas-W 668, 676—CIA 3. 73. But here no doubt for Tetraites who occurs as gladiator five times in inscriptions coupled with Prudens." Perhaps the confusion of names is in itself significant.

57. 8 In alio peduclum vides, in te ricinum non vides. Cf. Matthew 7. 5: " Thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye; and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye." Also, Luke 6. 41.[32]

65. 5 Habinnas. The name in this form does not occur in C. I. L., but Abinnerici (gen.) does occur (IV 2585, 2599, 2600, 2601), and its recurrence in Josephus, Ant. Jud. XX 22 (Niese) as Ἀβεννήριγος establishes its Syrian or Jewish origin. Several Talmudic sages were called Abina or Abin.[33] Furthermore the name Abban (Ἀββάνης, Ἀμβανής) occurs in the apocryphal Acts of Thomas, which is proven to be of Syriac origin. Professor F. C. Burkitt declared the name to be Semitic,[34] and subsequently proves his guess.[35]

68. 8 Recutitus est. Perhaps a conscious disparagement by

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[30] Berakhot VI 6; cf. Jastrow, *op. cit.*, II, p. 738.

[31] W. B. Sedgwick, *Classical Review* XXXIX (1925), p. 118.

[32] Many rabbinic parallels are cited in Strack und Billerbeck, Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch, München 1922, I, p. 446.

[33] Jewish Encyc. I, pp. 63-64.

[34] *Journal of Theological Studies* I (1900), p. 288.

[35] *Ibid.* II (1901), p. 429: " In a Latin papyrus dated 166 A. D. and published among the Palaeographical Society's Facsimiles (Series II, plate 190), we learn that C. Fabullius Macer, a lieutenant in the Imperial Fleet of triremes on the Tigris, bought a seven-year-old slave ... from the country beyond the river and answered to the name c. ... Eutyches (Puerum natione ... Eutychen sive quo alio nomine vocatur [sic]). The name of the slave is obviously identical with that of the merchant who bought the Apostle Thomas to be a carpenter."

one who considered himself advanced beyond a barbaric practise. The practise is always associated with Jews; cf. 102. 14 circumcide nos ut iudaei videamur, and Frag. 37 (Bücheler).[36]

69. 9 De *fimo* facta sunt. "A favorite oriental trick according to Sir R. Burton," Sedgwick.[37]

72. 10 Nemo unquam convivarum per eandem ianuam emissus est, alia intrant alia exeunt. Cf. Ezekiel 46. 9: "But when the people of the land shall come before the Lord in the solemn feasts, he that entereth in by way of the north gate to worship shall go out by way of the south gate; and he that entereth by the way of the south gate shall go forth by the way of the north gate: he shall not return by the way of the gate whereby he came in, but shall go forth over against it."[38] Apparently Trimalchio's notion of elegance in this regard is ultimately derived from the Temple arrangement or something cognate.

74. 12 Urceolum frigidum ad malam eius admovit. Yoma 78a: "Raba used to cool himself on Atonement Day with the outside of a vessel of water."

77. 4 Cusuc. Mr. Sedgwick remarks:[39] "It is no doubt Eastern. Mr. Gantillon sends me the following note: 'Cusuc is the Persian *kushk*, a light Summer palace, pavilion, portico. In Turkish it became *kosk*, pronounced *kyosk*, whence the French *kiosque*. Trimalchio says: "Cusuc *erat*, nunc *templum est*." The word must have brought with it into the slang of his day both the sense of flimsiness and of the promise of a more pretentious building, temple or palace.'"

80. 1 Age, inquit, nunc et puerum dividamus: iocari putabam discedentem: at ille gladium paricidali manu strinxit. H. Lucas[40] recognizes in this a version of the Judgment of Solomon, but says that it is derived through a Greek source. R. Engelmann[41] enumerates no less than five examples of the repre-

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[36] See Theodore Reinach, Textes d'auteurs grecs et romains relatifs au Judaisme, Paris 1895, Index s. v. *circoncision.*

[37] W. B. Sedgwick, *Classical Review* XXXIX (1925), p. 118.

[38] The Code of Maimonides, under *Hilkhoth Tefila,* prescribes that all synagogues have two entrances. •

[39] *Loc. cit.*

[40] Festschrift zu Otto Hirschfelds 60. jährigem Geburtstag, p. 269.

[41] Ein neues Urtheil Salomonis und die Friesbilder der Casa Tiberina, Hermes XXXIX (1904), pp. 146-154.

sentation of the Judgment of Solomon in Roman art, and I do not see why the story cannot have migrated directly without Greek intervention.

94. 1 O felicem, inquit, matrem tuam, quae te talem peperit. Cf. Luke 11. 27: "Blessed is the womb that bare thee and the paps which thou hast sucked."

105. 4 Placuit quadragenas utrique plagas imponi. Forty stripes is regularly the maximum corporal punishment in all rabbinic legal writings, on the basis of Deuteronomy 25. 3: "Forty stripes he may give him, and not exceed."

111. The possibility that the origin of the story of the Widow of Ephesus is ultimately Oriental has been widely recognized. I would add that three versions of the story, in details apparently independent of each other and of our text, are extant in medieval Hebrew literature, ranging in date from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries.[42] Perhaps this may indicate a persistent independent tradition, from which Petronius may have drawn directly.

<div align="right">MOSES HADAS.</div>

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[42] Cf. I. Davidson's edition of Joseph Zabara, Sepher Shaashuim, New York 1914, pp. 111 ff.

TWO PAPYRUS FRAGMENTS OF HOMER.

The two papyri published below were added to the collection at Columbia University in July, 1929. The passages of Homer represented seem to be contained in no other published papyri, and the Odyssey fragment gives textual evidence of considerable interest.

P. Columbia Inv. no. 496. 7″ x 3″. Third Century A. D.[1]

Iliad V, 857-878.

νεία[τ]ον ες [κενεωνα οθι ζωννυσκετο μιτρη]

τη ρα μιν ο[υτα τυχων δια δε χροα καλον εδαψεν

    δε

εκ δορυ σπάσε[ν αυτις ο δ εβραχε χαλκεος αρης]

860 οσσον τ εννε[αχιλοι επιαχον η δεκαχιλοι]

ανερες εν π[ολεμω εριδα ξυναγοντες αρηος]

τους δ αρ υπο [τρομος ειλεν αχαιους τε τρωας τε]

δεισαντας το[σον εβραχ αρης ατος πολεμοιο]

ο ίη δ εκ νεφεω[ν ερεβεννη φαινεται αηρ]

865 καυματος εξ α[νεμοιο δυσαεος ορνυμενοιο]

τοιος τυδειδη δ[ιομηδει χαλκεος αρης]

φαινεθ [ο]μου ν[εφεεσσιν ιων εις ουρανον ευρυν]

καρπαλιμω[ς δ ικανε θεων εδος αιπυν ολυμπον]

πα[ρ] δε διι κρ[ονιωνι καθεζετο θυμον αχευων]

870 δειξεν δ α[μ]βρ[οτον αιμα καταρρεον εξ ωτειλης]

[κ]αι ρ ολο[φ]υρ[ομενος επεα πτεροεντα προσηυδα]

[ζευ] πα[τερ ου νεμεσιζη ορων ταδε καρτερα εργα]

[αιε]ι τοι [ριγιστα θεοι τετληοτες ειμεν]

[αλ]ληλων [ιοτητι χαριν ανδρεσσι φεροντες]

875 [σοι] παντ[ες μαχομεσθα συ γαρ τεκες αφρονα κουρην]

[ουλο]μεν[ην η τ αιεν αησυλα εργα μεμηλεν]

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[1] The dates given are those assigned to these fragments by Mr. H. Idris Bell of the British Museum.

[αλλ]οι με[ν γαρ παντες οσοι θεοι εισ εν ολυμπω]

[σοι τ] επιπε[ιθονται και δεδμημεσθα εκαστος]

The fragment is tattered, and now in three pieces. A small, angular book hand is used, somewhat similar to that of P. Berlin 7499,[2] but with narrower letters written with a finer pen. The spaces at the top and bottom show that we have here portions of all the (22) lines of the column. At this rate Book V must have occupied a little over 41 columns. One letter, a *ν*, at the end of a line in the previous column is visible; it is opposite line 873, and therefore must be the last letter of 851. Iota adscript appears to be omitted in 858 τη, but in 866 τυδειδη it is impossible to determine. In 859 δε has been inserted above the line, apparently by a different hand, in a rather sprawling script, and with a thicker pen and paler ink. In 864 the *η* of οιη is small and crowded in above the line; it was evidently inserted later, probably by the same hand. There are no variants from the accepted text.

P. Columbia Inv. no. 514. 6½″ x 1¾″. Second Century A. D.
Odyssey XVII, 331-355.

[κειμενον ε]νθα δε δαι[τρος εφιζεσκε κρεα πολλα]

[δαιομενος μ]νηστηρσ[ι δομον κατα δαινυμενοισιν]

[τον κατεθηκ]ε φερων προ[ς τηλεμαχοιο τραπεζαν]

[αντιον ενθα δ α]ρ αυτος εφεζετ[ο τωι δ αρα κηρυξ

335 [μοιραν ελων πρ]οτιθει κανεου τ [εκ σιτον αειρας]

[αγχιμολον δε μ]ετ αυτον εδυσατ[ο δωματ οδυσσευς]

[πτωχωι λευγαλ]εωι εναλιγκιος η[δε γεροντι]

[σκηπτομενος] τα δε λυγρα περι χ[ροι ειματα εστο]

[ιζε δ επι μελινο]ν ουδου εντοσ[θε θυραων]

340 [κλιναμενος σταθ]μωι κυπαρισσ[ινωι ον ποτε τεκτων]

[ξεσσεν επισταμ]ενως και επι [σταθμην ιθυνεν]

[τηλεμαχος δ επι οι καλεσως προ[σεειπε συβωτην]

[αρτον τ ουλον ελ]ων περικα[λλ-ος εκ κανεοιο]

2 Berl. Class. Texte V, 1; see W. Schubart, Griech. Palaeographie, p. 127, fig. 33.

[καὶ χρεας ως οι χειρ]ες εχανδα[νον αμφιβαλοντι]

345 [δος τωι ξεινωι ταυ]τα φερων αυτον τ[ε κελευε]

[αιτιζειν μαλα πα]ντας εποιχομε[νον μνηστηρας]

[αιδως δ ουκ αγαθη] κεχρημενωι ανδ[ρι παρειναι]

[ως φατο βη δε συφ]ορβος επει τον μ[υθον ακουσεν]

[αγχου δ ισταμενο]ς επεα πτεροεντ [αγορευεν]

350 [τηλεμαχος τοι ξ]εινε διδοι ταδε κ[αι σε κελευει]

[αιτιζειν μαλα παν]τας εποιχομεν[ον μνηστηρας]

[αιδως δ ουκ αγαθ]η φησ εμμεναι αν[δρι προικτηι]

[τον δ απαμειβομ]ενος προσεφη π[ολυμητις οδυσσευς]

[ζευ ανα τηλεμαχο]ν δος εν ανδρασ[ιν ολβιον ειναι]

355 [και οι παντα γενοιθ ο]σσα φρεσισηισι μ[ενοιναι]

This also is a strip containing parts of all the (25) lines of a column; Book XVII evidently occupied a little more than 24 such columns. The script is round and formal, resembling that of P. Berlin 9739.[3] Iota adscript is used in 337 λευγαλ]εωι, 340 σταθ]μωι, 347 κεχρημενωι, and 355 ηισι.

331. The fragment agrees with all other mss. in the reading δε; Bekker's emendation to τε has been generally accepted.

335. The first visible letter, though only the right side of it remains, was obviously ο, not ε; the papyrus therefore agrees at this point with the mss. which read προτιθει, not ετιθει. This fact is confirmed by the space.

336. There is again a division among the mss.; the fragment clearly read εδυσατο, not εδυσετο.

347. The papyrus agrees with the great majority of the mss. in reading κεχρημενωι ανδρι rather than κεχρημενον ανδρα.

352. Of the first letter only the extreme right side is visible; this is a distinctly curved vertical line. As the last vertical line of ν is invariably straight in this fragment, while the last line of η is always curved, we can be certain that the reading here was αγαθη, not αγαθην.

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[3] See W. Schubart, *P. Graec. Berol.* 19a; *Griech. Palaeographie,* p. 115.

354. Here we find an entirely new variant. All the other mss. read μοι where the papyrus has δος, a reading which seems worthy of serious consideration. An examination of the formulae used in Homeric prayers [4] shows the following results. In the Odyssey the imperative (alone or followed by the optative) is used in the majority of cases. The optative alone occurs occasionally. There are no cases (apart from the traditional reading in the line under consideration) of the " infinitive for imperative." Δός is found in III, 60; VI, 327; and IX, 530. In the Iliad the imperative (often followed by the optative) is used in the great majority of cases. The optative is used alone in III, 300 f., and the " infinitive for imperative " is found in II, 413 and VII, 179. Δός occurs in III, 322; III, 351; V, 118; VI, 307; VI, 476 (δότε); VII, 203; X, 281; XVI, 524; XVII, 646; XXIV, 309.

355. The first letter visible, though partly gone, is undoubtedly a sigma. The reading is thus shown to have been γενοιθ οσσα, not γενοιτο οσα. In the next words in the line the papyrus contains both readings (φρεσι σησι and φρεσιν ησι) on which the mss. divide, ν being written, in what appears to be the same hand, directly above s as a correction.

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ADDENDUM ON ITHACA.

Since publishing the paper on Ithaca, pp. 221-238 of this volume, I have had an unexpected opportunity for another short visit to Ithaca. On this occasion the day was clearer than before, and Ithaca could be distinguished from Kephallenia as soon as the ship reached the mouth of the Gulf of Patras. From that point the heights of Kephallenia could be seen above nearly all that part of Ithaca which is south of the conspicuous peak, and also above the central part, but not above the rest of the island; they are visible chiefly to the south of Ithaca. The simile of a line of poles at the base of a hill is therefore not very apposite; but the main argument is unaffected.

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[4] Collected by E. J. (Brother E. Anselm) Strittmatter, *Prayer in the Iliad and Odyssey*, C. W. XVIII (1925), pp. 83-87; 90-92.

GLOTTA, XVIII (1929), 1-2.

Pp. 1-4. F. Eichler, Eine altboiotische Töpferinschrift. An aryballos said to have come from near Thebes, and acquired in 1896 by the Antikensammlung in Vienna (Inventory No. 1864), bears a hitherto unnoticed inscription, Φίθε̄ μ᾽ ἐποίϝε̄σε. Phithē, an s-less Boeotian nominative in -η, is a short form of Phithadas, a known Boeotian potter; the name is akin to Attic Πείθων, but shows regressive assimilation of the aspiration. Writing, dialect forms, artistic style all point to Boeotia as place of origin of the vase; probable date, early sixth century B. C.

Pp. 4-8. G. N. Hatzidakis, Über das chronologische Verhältnis einiger Lautgesetze des Altgriechischen zu einander. The contrast of θρίξ θάσσων θράσσω θρύπτω with κισσός πάσσων κίσσα, where all have two original aspirates, the second one before a consonant, is explained on the basis that at the date when χy and θy became σσ and πy became ππ, the dissimiliation of aspirates had not yet taken place; the forms with θ- are therefore phonetically regular and those with non-aspirates κ and π are analogical. Probably also θ was no longer a pure aspirate stop. The variation between -σσ- in κισσός and -σ- in μέσος is due to the difference in the position of the accent.

Pp. 8-65. Walter Goldberger, Kraftausdrücke im Vulgärlatein. The first section of a study of words in new meanings, as fresh emphatic expressions for old commonplace terms. These new uses may become regular (as in testa 'head'); or may be only occasional or employed by individuals, in fashion for a time or in a limited area, though sometimes widespread but not gaining literary position. Terms so used may be divided into the following groups, of which only the first is here dealt with: parts of the body, and the bodily activities; nicknames, words of affection and of dislike, and corresponding verbs; ideas of the external world.

The following ideas are discussed in detail: Kopf (testa 'pot, skull', cuppa, cochlea, cucurbita 'gourd, stupid person', etc); Ohr (auricula, a diminutive); Mund (bucca 'cheek', etc.); Wange; Kehle, Rachen; Brust; Schulter, Rücken (spatula 'ladle, swine's shoulder-blade', etc.); Achselhöhle; Schenkel, Bein; Eingeweide, Bauch; Nates, anus; Penis; Cunnus; Meretrix.

Pp. 65-66. M. Leumann, 'Αστο- für 'Αριστο- auf thessalischen Inschriften. In Thessalian inscriptions, names of the type

Ἄσταρχος are numerous alongside Ἀρίσταρχος; the abbreviation of ἀριστο- was perhaps supported by some old names in (ϝ)αστυ-.

Pp. 67-100. Erika Kretschmer, Beiträge zur Wortgeographie der altgriechischen Dialekte. The evidence on the geographical extension of words in ancient Greek is contained in inscriptions, mostly not older than the fourth century B. C.; in the works of the old lexicographers and scholiasts; and here and there in the literary texts. Concerning each word a series of questions must be asked: Is the word general Greek, coming from the primitive I. E.? Is it general Greek, or local Greek, from the language of the pre-I. E. population? Does it belong specifically to one of the three Greek strata? Did it first appear in a Greek dialect in historic times, and spread thence? Does its origin belong to the Koine? The following ideas are studied, the chief Greek words for each being here listed: Diener, Sklave: δμώς ἀμφίπολος θεράπων δοῦλος οἰκέτης ἀνδράποδον λεώς ὑπηρέτης οἰκεύς ϝοικιάτας λάτρις θής σῶμα. Priester: ἱερεύς θεοκόλος λείτωρ φανοφόροι θύστας θύτης ῥέκτας βουμέτρης ἀχαιομάντεις πυρκόος ἀγήτωρ κάβαρνοι ἐσσήν εὐαγγελίς βρύκαι. Bürge: ἔγγυος ἐγγυητής βεβαιωτήρ ἄμποχος ἀντάτας προαποδότας ἀνάδοχος. Zeuge: ἰδυῖος μάρτυς ϝίστωρ ἐπάκοος γνωστήρ. Nussknacker: καρυοκατάκτης μουκηροφαγόρ. Helfen: βοηθέω βοηδρομεῖν ἰνγγοδρομεῖν ἐπικουρέω ἀρήγω χραισμεῖν.

Pp. 101-109. S. P. Cortsen, Die lemnische Inschrift, ein Deutungsversuch. The non-Greek inscription of Lemnos, found 1886 (B. C. H. 1886; Ath. Mit. 1908), is essentially Etruscan. The numerals 1-6 are θu zal ci śa maχ huθ; sialχveiz means 40 (Steph. Byz. Ὑττηνία as earlier name of Attic Tetrapolis is rejected as evidence that huθ means 4); maraz : mav is for maraz-(u)m av(iz) 'and five years', maraz being connected with maχ '5'. Text A (the obverse) is thus to be read and interpreted:

holaiez naφoθ ziazi:	Holaiez, der Sohn des Ziaz,
zivai	gestorben,
evisθo zeṛonaiθ	in diesem Grab,
sialχveiz : aviz	im Alter von 45 Ja(hren).
maraz : mav	
vanalasial : zeronai : morinail	Vanalasial weihte das Grab,
aker tavarzio	Morinail das Gut als Totengabe.

The relatives, not liking A, which lacked some of the regular epitaphic items, added text B (the reverse): Der Phokäer ꞮꞮolaiezi in diesem Grabe; (als) Häuptling und Oberpriester gestorben; einen Zug fern von Phokäa unternehmend gestorben; 45 Jahre gelebt habend.

Pp. 110-111. P. Kretschmer, Ὑττηνία. A defense (against Cortsen) of Ostir's view that Etr. huθ means 4, as shown

by the item in Steph. Byz.; the only positive piece of outside evidence for the value of an Etr. numeral must not be lightly cast aside. See preceding article.

Pp. 111. F. Adami, Zu P. Linde Homerische Selbsterläuterungen, Glotta 1924 S. 223. The etymological play on Odysseus' name is found also τ 405 ff., with the same motif as in ξ 144-147; where Eumaios will not utter Odysseus' name because he loves him, but the name is indicative of hate.

Pp. 112-131. Johann Sofer, Lateinisch-Romanisches aus den Etymologiae des Isidorus von Sevilla. This third part (cf. Gl. XVI, 1-47, XVII, 1-46) lists the ' Romanisms ' of Isidore, i. e., the words (forms or meanings) first appearing in Isidore or in his time and persisting in Romanic languages: botanical terms (ala 'inula', lorandrum 'rhododendrum', nixa, melimelum malomellus), zoological-anatomical (formicoleon, botrax, mustio, capitium, columna, pinnula, pirula), verbs (back-formations prostro stro; recompounded forms decadere, confrango, proiacto, resapio), adjectives (blavus, mesticius, sinixter; and the adverb ozie 'hodie'), miscellaneous (baselus, imbriculus, ostracus, smyris, t(h)ius).

Pp. 132-146. Edwin Müller-Graupa, Primitiae. 1. Biene, Imme, *apis, ἐμπίς*: these words are not to be taken with Prellwitz, Gl. XV, 153, as from a root meaning to drink, but the words meaning 'bee' refer to the droning, the stinging, and the building activities. 2. *titus, gaius, lucius* as proper names are not (pace Niedermann) transfers of the common nouns meaning 'dove', 'jay', 'pike (fish)'; besides other objections, the transfer of names takes place from men to animals rather than vice versa.

Pp. 146-153. Albrecht v. Blumenthal, Messapisches. (6) Kaibel C. G. F. 198 ff. gives S. Ital.-Sicilian glosses, containing much ' barbarian ' material, therefore probably some Messapian; Nos. 151-155 are designated as such. One of these, βύριον· οἴκημα, has an unfamiliar suffix which enables us to identify Kaibel No. 95 γολύριον· κέλυφος, a Tarentine word, as Messapian, corrected to ϝελύριον by Kaibel; cognate to Latin volvo. The Greek καλύβη, grouped by Boisacq with καλύπτω and κέλυφος, is shown by its β to be of Illyric origin. (7) Kretschmer, Gl. XII, 278 ff., showed the identity of Sicil. Λάγεσις, Mess. Logetis, Greek Λάχεσις as the name of a goddess. A similar formation, Βαιῶτις, is given by Hesych. as an epithet of Aphrodite at Syracuse. Νῆστις, as fourth deity after Zeus, Hera, Aidoneus in the Empedoclean fragment, cannot be more than an epithet of Demeter, ' the fasting one ', since it stands alongside three regular names. (8) The Tarentine festival Γραιϝία (γραιβία ἢ γραιτία in Hesych.), evidently in honor of the Graiae, has an

intervocalic ϝ which does not belong to Tarentine Greek. A genitive graivaihi on a Messapian gravestone from Gnathia shows a personal name *graivas. The Graiae may therefore be considered to be native in Messapian territory. (9) Hesych. κομάκτωρ, quoted from the Medea of the Tarentine Rhinthon, and glossed by coactor C. G. L. II, 102, 23 (also other glosses; and Insc. Magn. 217 Kern), is not taken from Latin, which always has coactor, but is Oscan *kom-ahtōr remade in Messapian after Greek ἄκτωρ. Rhinthon's καλτίον (Pollux VII, 90) is obviously equal to Latin calceus in meaning, but probably from an Oscan word with a different suffix; Greek may play a part here also. (10) Mess. πανός 'bread' (Ath. III, 111c), with two derivatives, is an original Messapian word, not taken from Latin panis, for Oscan territory separated Latin from Messapian, and Oscan said caria 'bread' (Placid. 25, 19 D.). (11) The Greek use of αὐτοῦ and its forms, replacing ἑαυτοῦ αὑτοῦ and their forms as reflexive pronoun, spread from the west; it is likely that the usage came from Illyrian or Messapian. Cf. also Sommer, I. F., XLII, 128, who interprets sselboisselboi on the ewer of Canevói as Venetic,='sibi ipsi' (cf. O. H. G. der selb selbo), like the peculiar late Greek αὐτοσαυτόν.

Pp. 153-154. Albrecht v. Blumenthal, Illyrische Rückstände im Dorischen. Illyric remnants are seen in Laconian βερνώμεθα: κληρωσώμεθα (Hesych.), denominative to the Illyric cognate of φερνή 'dower'; and in δύτα 'aedicula' (Troezen, I. G. IV, 823, 41; Thebes, I. G. VII, 2477), akin to θύω, Latin fumus. (Incidentally, ζωρναί in the Troezen inscr. is a development of διωρυγά 'ditch'.)

Pp. 155-158. S. P. Cortsen, Zum Etruskischen. The stems hup- and tus-, of which the occurrences are given, have the same meaning, 'couch, bed'; hupni 'ossuarium'; tusurθir 'consors tori, Ehegatte.' Personal names from these stems are no more remarkable than German Kirchhof.

Pp. 158-160. Alfred Klotz, *Carnis* nom.? Priscian G. L. II, 208, 18, quotes carnis as nominative from Livius Andronicus and from Livy XXXVII, 3, 4; but in both passages carnis is a partitive genitive; parallels are cited, notably Enn. Ann. 235 V.[2]

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an account of the classical learning found in the glosses to an Orosius manuscript of the ninth century.

Pp. 204-224. Miscellen. 2. pp. 204-207. Erich Ziebarth, Hypothekinschrift aus Dystos. An inscription from Dystos in Euboea casts light on the development of property regulations in the Greek islands during the Hellenistic period. 3. pp. 207-212. Oskar Viedebantt, Metrologica II. Observations on the equivalents of the Attic medimnus. 4. pp. 212-218. N. Wecklein (†), Zu Homer. Sundry corrections in the text. 5. pp. 218-220. Franz Zimmermann, Ein korrupter Medizinerausdruck bei Chariton. In the doubtful passage I 8, 1, ἀφέσεως is to be read for αἱρέσεως. 6. pp. 220-224. Albrecht von Blumenthal, Der Apollontempel des Trophonios und Agamedes in Delphi. The source of Pausanias' description of this temple is Pindar's eleventh Paean. The first temple at Delphi belongs to the earliest period of Greek architecture known to us. After a technical discussion of the architecture based on the Homeric Hymn to Apollo, these conclusions are reached. 1. The technical term οὐδός in the Iliad and in the Hymn shows that the temple which was burned in 548 was older than the Iliad. 2. Like the Heraeum in Olympia it was built of clay bricks with stone pillars.

Pp. 225-258. Hans Erich Stier, ΝΟΜΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ. The old theory that the change from Periclean democracy to Hellenistic monarchy was a sign of decadence is no longer satisfactory; there must have been some sort of inner development at work in Greece which brought about the change. The whole process of change is too complex to be summed up in a simple formula. The present article, in attempting to solve the problem, seeks to make clear the development of the νόμος idea. The first appearance of the word is in Hesiod, although the νόμος idea as a ruling principle of statecraft reaches its height only at the end of the fifth century. The use of νόμος in the literature is critically examined, and the changes in the meaning of the word are set forth. These changes of the public mind with respect to νόμος reflect the changes in political theory and practice, so that as νόμος came to mean law rather than custom, the Greeks came to accept a monarch who embodied the law in his own person.

Pp. 259-305. Julius Röhr, Beiträge zur antiken Astrometeorologie. The article is divided into five parts, 1. the moon and the atmosphere, 2. the planets and the atmosphere, 3. the zodiac and the atmosphere, 4. the combination of the zodiac and the planets in their influence on the atmosphere, and 5. the fixed stars and the atmosphere. In each part illustrative passages from the ancient writers are adduced, and the article is documented with 296 footnotes.

Pp. 306-315. J. Morr, Poseidonios—eine Quelle Strabons im XVII. Buche. An examination of Strabo's seventeenth book shows several passages which can be traced to Poseidonios. Strabo's principal source was, however, Artemidorus of Ephesus.

Pp. 316-330. Fritz Walter, Zu lateinischen Schriftstellern. Observations on sundry Latin writers, chiefly with a view to improving the text.

Pp. 331-336. Miscellen. 7. pp. 331-335. Edward Brandt, Zum Aeneis-Prooemium. The verses beginning *Ille ego* which are sometimes prefixed to the Aeneid, are not Vergil's. They were probably composed in the first century for a publisher. 8. pp. 335-336. C. Fries, Adnotatiunculae criticae Tullianae. Attempts to mend two passages.

Pp. 337-344. C. Ritter, Was bedeutet ἀναβάλλεσθαι ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ἐλευθέρως bei Platon, Theait. 175 e? Several scholars, among them Schleiermacher, Apelt and Wilamowitz suppose that ἀναβάλλεσθαι refers to the proper draping of the garment over the right arm. If this passage is compared with others in Plato, such an interpretation is seen to be impossible. The other meaning of the verb ' to strike up an air on the lyre ' is to be preferred.

Pp. 345-389. Willy Morel, Iologica. The countries in which the ancients lived are full of all kinds of serpents, many of which are venomous. For this reason the serpent played an important rôle in the mythology, art, religion, and science of the ancient people. The important sources for the present article are the Theriaka of Nikander of Colophon, the lost translation of this by Aemilius Macer, and the work of the physician Philumenos. In the ninth book of his Pharsalia, Lucan tells how some of Cato's soldiers died of snake bite in their march through the Libyan desert. Lucan's source here was Aemilius Macer, as is abundantly shown by the evidence. The article contains much curious information about serpents, drawn from the ancient writers.

Pp. 390-399. Alfred Klotz, Zu Caes. bell. Gall. VII 75. There are certain difficulties in this passage, in which are set down the numbers of the relief force sent to Alesia at the command of Vercingetorix. Corrections are offered in the text in order to make the numbers of the forces here agree with the figures given elsewhere.

Pp. 400-418. Rudolf Zimmermann, Die Autorschaft Tibulls an den Elegien 2-6 des IV. Buches. Elegies 2-6 of the fourth book comprise a unit in themselves. The present author gives a statistical summary of the vocabulary of the elegies in question in order to determine whether the poems are to be assigned to Tibullus. The vocabulary shows many instances of agree-

o

ment with the language of the genuine elegies, nevertheless the conclusion is reached that the author of the disputed elegies was not Tibullus, but another elegist who had set himself to imitate Tibullus as closely as possible.

Pp. 419-438. M. Boas, Spuren der ausservulgatischen Rezension in mittelalterlichen Catobearbeitungen. The Barb. Lat. 41 shows traces of a tradition older than the vulgate, but nevertheless this Ms. is not a middle point between the vulgate and Ms. Δ from which the vulgate is derived. The traces of the Barberinianus are found in a fairly limited area, in France, Germany, and The Netherlands. The origin of the Ms. cannot, however, be discovered. An elaborate discussion is given of the Barberinianus and its relation to the other parts of the text tradition.

Pp. 439-466. Miscellen. 9. pp. 439-443. Joh. Sykutris, Solon und Soloi. The connection of Solon with Soloi has been predicated upon two verses of an elegy addressed to Philokypros. These verses are shown to be interpolations which were inserted to explain the Solon legend, a legend which arose independently of the elegy in question. 10. pp. 443-448. Wilhelm Bannier, Zur lex Acilia repetundarum. An attempt to supply the parts of the text missing in the inscription, and to define the duties of the praetor as mentioned therein. It is pointed out that a case coming under the provisions of this law was to be conducted by the praetor urbanus or by the praetor peregrinus, and that a special magistrate was not appointed for such cases. 11. pp. 448-450. Wilhelm Port, Zum Aufbau der ersten Ode des Horaz. The ode is to be thought of as being composed in distichs and groups of distichs. 12. pp. 450-453. Karl Münscher, Katalepton IX 15. In line 15 we should read *Argium* instead of *Pylium*. The reference would then be to Adrastus. 13. pp. 453-458. Josef Mesk, Der Schiedsspruch in der siebenten Ekloge Vergils. It is neither from ethical nor aesthetic motives that Vergil lets Corydon defeat Thyrsis in the singing match. The offerings of the two contestants are equal, therefore the contest could end, according to the principle of *variatio*, either with a tie or with the discomfiture of one contestant. Vergil chose to follow his model Theocritus by awarding the prize to Corydon. 14. pp. 459-466. Friedr. Levy, Der Weltuntergang in Senecas naturales quaestiones. In describing the end of the world, Seneca saw it with the eye of the dramatist, and described it as a tragic poet would. He wanted to offer a dramatic description in opposition to Ovid's account of the flood which was in the epic vein. Seneca therefore carefully composes his account in a series of dramatic climaxes. At the end he turns to a criticism of Ovid because he believed that his own dramatic account of the catastrophe was better than Ovid's epic story.

HARRISON C. COFFIN.

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REVIEWS

De Ablativo Absoluto Quaestiones; by Edwin Flinck-Linkomies,
    Annales Academicae Scientiarum Finnicae. Ser. B. Tom.
    xx, No. 1, Helsingforsiae, 1929. Pp. 272.

This rather elaborate study begins with a survey of the treat-
ment of the ablative absolute category from the earliest times.
To Priscian is ascribed the first recorded reference to the con-
struction; and while that grammarian assigns to it no special
name, it is interesting to note that he affirms two types, illus-
trated by *Traiano bellante* and *rege Latino*.

Not until the twelfth century is this use cited as " absolute,"
and then apparently on the ground that the ablative is not
" governed " (*regi*) by anything, the conception being rather
strictly grammatical.

At about the beginning of the last century the inevitable
search for an " origin " for the ablative absolute was initiated;
and the work now under discussion stands as the latest exponent
of that time-honored tradition.

Flinck, however, does not hold for an Indo-European origin.
As a matter of fact, in the Indo-European group of languages
each one of the cases is found in absolute use, and the question
of a common " source " for this motley array might well stagger
the most enthusiastic and inveterate seeker of origins.

Assuming the ablative absolute construction to be indigenous
to Italy, Flinck raises the question whether it is an inheritance
shared with other Italic dialects or whether it belongs to Latin
alone. At this point a strong bias appears in the discussion,
every effort being made to discredit possible examples cited for
the other dialects; and, on this basis, it is concluded that the
construction is to be recognized in Latin only.

The chapter next following (III) seems at first sight irrele-
vant, and it certainly is quite unconvincing, its aim being to
demonstrate that, in the time of Plautus and Terence, the
participles had little or no verbal force.

As the reading progresses, it appears that this attempt to
distort the facts is intended to clear the way for the author's
theory that the origin of the ablative construction is " sociative."
To support this thesis, he wishes to begin with phrases made up
of nouns and adjectives; for expressions with verbal force would
not lend themselves so easily to the theory which he would
establish. In what a misleading fashion the material for Plautus
and Terence is handled appears at once when a comparison is

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potando veneno, or *veneni potione.* This therefore is *not* an ablative absolute.

On the other hand, in Caesar, *Bell. Civ.* ii. 32. 1 it reads: *Dimisso consilio* contionem advocat militum. Here a time-after-which relation may be discerned; but that is explicit in the tense of the participle, and the case of the ablative phrase stands for none of the regular ablative relations. This therefore is an example of absolute use. The same may be said of such a turn as *magnis vulneribus acceptis* pugnabat tamen. That the case tells no story is shown by the fact that a phrase with a nominative participle would serve as well: magnis vulneribus *confectus* pugnabat tamen. With either phrasing the relation of the opening words is concessive, which, of course, is not an ablative function.

The above definition will distinguish clearly between sharply contrasted types of ablative phrases; but it by no means furnishes a practical general working rule. For no one who examines the facts without prejudice can fail to see that, in Roman linguistic consciousness, there was no fixed line of demarcation rigorously dividing ablative phrases according as they served or did not serve to mark some one of the standard ablative relations. In unreflective linguistic consciousness there must have been an extensive uncharted middle ground. And that mature reflection would not by any means have cleared up many points of doubt is abundantly indicated by the difference of opinion among scholars of the present day as to the interpretation of specific examples.

Incidentally, there is an added complication in the matter of phrases made up, for example, of nouns and pronouns (such as *me adiutrice* and *Crasso consule*). Are we justified in saying that *me consule* in certain connections is to be denied " absolute " status on the ground that it is a " time " expression of regular ablative scope? And is *te vate* to be regarded as having the force of *vaticinatione tua?* Or, on the other hand, is Priscian right in stating that with all such phrases we must supply the non-existent present participle of the verb *esse?* And would the predicate relation thus enforced in every case establish an " absolute " relation?

There seems little prospect of framing a rule in terms of grammar or logic that will sharply divide the " ablative absolute " from other uses of that case. Handicapped by a grammatical heritage, we find it hard to reach new points of view; but a survey of the abundant material collected by Flinck suggests that it might not be out of harmony with Roman linguistic feeling, if we should approach the data assembled for such an investigation as presenting a problem primarily stylistic. At

any rate, Flinck's lists show in a very striking way that many of the phrases naturally presented for consideration in a study of this sort tend to fall into distinctive groups, which perpetuate themselves from generation to generation, becoming more " phraseological " doubtless as time went on, and thus farther removed from analytic appraisal on the part of the users.

While it is true that Flinck's study rests upon an a priori assumption in support of which the data are marshalled and manipulated in a very misleading way, it is not to be inferred that his work lacks value. It is a thought-provoking study, wrought out with meticulous care, and it presents a unique collection of material running down into medieval times. Such a work no one interested in the subject can afford to pass by.

<div align="right">H. C. NUTTING.</div>

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Le Cycle épique dans l'école d'Aristarque, par Albert Severyns. Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liége, Fascicule XL, Dissertation Inaugurale, 1828, pp. xvi + 454.

The author of this book has already achieved a reputation by his studies in the Cycle and Eustathius, and in this he definitely strives for a position along with Lehrs, Ludwich, and Roemer, whose work he accepts as the foundation for his own. He is nearest to Roemer in that he sees in the existing scholia only a possible means for divining the notions of Aristarch, not the notions themselves. The comments of Aristarchus have passed through so many hands and have been so often condensed or misunderstood that frequently the scholia give as the opinion of the great Alexandrian the very thing he denied.

When Aristarchus used the words οἱ νεώτεροι he always gave to them a definite meaning, a technical meaning, and he meant thereby the Greek poets from Hesiod to the poets of his own day. This technical meaning was soon forgotten, so that later transcribers felt it necessary to add the word ποιηταί, later the phrase οἱ μεταγενέστεροι ποιηταί, which left out the essential word, νεώτεροι, and finally all notion of the meaning was lost, so that the scholiast to Ω 228 remarks: " Aristarchus says that κιβωτὸν λέξιν νεωτέραν εἶναι but he does not know that it is used both by Simonides and Hecataeus." Here the very thing Aristarchus taught was made to confute his own teachings, since Simonides was to him one of the νεώτεροι, while to the scholiast he belonged with the ἀρχαῖοι. This one example gives some indication of the

great difficulty in reaching Aristarchus through those who did
not understand him.

Bad as the situation is in general it is far worse in the matter
of the Cycle, since when the scholia took final form the public had
no interest in the Cyclic Poems, they were unread and forgotten,
so that the scribe tried to make his work interesting by substi-
tuting for references to the Cycle names of better known writings
or poets. The Geneva scholium to E 126 tells the story of the
enraged Tydeus opening the skull of his slain enemy, Melan-
ippus, and devouring the brains, explaining that this story is
from the Cycle. Later scholia give the same story, but there it
is referred to Pherecydes. By a series of cogent examples and
parallels our author shows that originally this was assigned to
the Cycle, then some learned scribe added, "found in Pherecydes
also," but the scribe to give the final form to the scholium
knew little and cared less for the Cycle, hence substituted the
added Pherecydes whom he knew for the writers of the Cycle
whom he did not know. By such methods all connection with
the poems was severed.

By the help of Proclus, Eustathius, Apollodorus, Athenaeus,
Strabo, Pausanias, and other writers, by scholia of many kinds,
by means of grammatical and lexical references, and by the
remains of ancient art our author tries to restore the scholia and
then to recover the sources which they did not understand. He
seeks in these scholia to track out the whole cyclic story from the
Battles of the Titans to the story of Telegonus. The references
are pitifully few and uncertain, since he finds that in all these
scholia the Titanomachia is named just once, the Cypria but
four times, the Sack of Troy but once, the Little Iliad thrice,
the Nostoi twice, and the Telegonia but once, while not another
one of the many assumed epics is ever named in all the mass
of Homeric scholia. No one without great imagination and con-
fidence in his own deductive powers could undertake this huge
task of conjecture and divination.

One thing made very clear and with abundant proof is the
great difference between the methods of Zenodotus and Arist-
archus. Zenodotus interpreted Homer by means of the Cycle
and tried to bring the Iliad and the Odyssey in harmony with
these poems, while Aristarchus denied all connection between
them, except imitation in the Cycle, and the very fact that
something found in Homer has its explanation in the Cycle was
to him sufficient reason for doubting the Homeric authorship
of that passage. Many of the verses rejected by Aristarchus were
rejected on the ground of their resembling something in the
Cycle. It is the great merit of Aristarchus that he appreciated
the vast difference between the spheres of Homeric and Cyclic

poetry, just as Aristotle had recognized their difference in struc-
ture.

A book which is based so largely on conjecture cannot all be
true, even if it is extremely brilliant, and I am sure the author
is mistaken in assuming that he has found a fragment of the
Nostoi in the account of the death of Agamemnon contained in
the eleventh book of the Odyssey. He assumes that there are
two contradictory accounts of that death, the one in the earlier
books as told to Telemachus, in which Clytemnestra has no part,
and the one of book eleven in which she shares the guilt with
Aegisthus. However, one verse in an earlier book is ignored,
the one in which Nestor said: " Orestes slew the murderer of his
father, Aegisthus, and gave a funeral feast to the Argives, a
feast for his hated, στυγερῆς, mother, and for the ignoble Aegis-
thus." The death of the mother and of Aegisthus must have
come close together and the fact that she is "hated" has no
explanation except in the assumption that she shared in the
crime. Elsewhere Nestor directly charges her with sharing in
the murder (Od. γ 235). It was perfectly natural that the shade
of Agamemnon should feel keenest the brutal faithlessness of the
wife. The great danger in a book like this is that a structure
may be built too large for the few and doubtful facts that must
furnish the foundation.

The author challenges comparison with Roemer and I like
him, Severyns, better, since he writes in a simple and uninflated
style and uses much supporting evidence that is overlooked by
the other.

That such a book should be a Dissertation Inaugurale gives
the hope of continued production, perhaps the revival of studies
concerning those great and early critics who saw in the classical
writers representatives of their own traditions and who used the
very language that they themselves spoke.

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M. Tulli Ciceronis Ad Atticum Epistularum Libri Sedecim
(Fasc. II, Lib. V-VIII). Rec. H. Sjögren. Collectio
Scriptorum Veterum Upsaliensis, Gothenburg, 1929, 6 kr.
50 öre.

This is a continuation of the editio major of the letters, the
fi t fasciicle of which appeared in 1916. The entire since is to
come out in the Teubner series where Sjögren's excellent edition
of the ad familiares appeared in 1925. The chief value of this
larger edition is its full apparatus criticus. Sjögren spent

several years making a new collation of all the important manuscripts before he wrote his remarkable Commentationes Tullianae in 1910. Now we are getting not only the ripe fruit of this collation, which at once displaces all others, but also a very intelligent gleaning from all the vast accumulation of former emendations. And there is no Latin text that stands more in need of such an apparatus than the collection of Atticus letters, for it still bristles with cruces, many of which can doubtless be disposed of now that we are getting a sound basis on which to work.

Sjögren's own text is very conservative. He has in fact been more liberal in admitting the conjectures of others than those that he has proposed from time to time. His own inclination is to defend the reading of the good manuscripts by offering parallels, by making easy transpositions or by a revision of the punctuation. In fact he has removed more cruces by such means than by emending. And his conjectures usually are simple and convincing, as for example operae (V. 2, 3), belle (V. 10, 3), itaque (V. 16, 3), *etiam* deleted (VII, 1, 8), XX for ex (VIII. 7, 1), and quo (VIII. 9, 1).

I have not noticed any errors in the book, nor many points of interpretation on which one could disagree. The reference to the Claudian inscription at VI. 1, 26 should have given the Corpus number of the 2nd edition. It is 775. Some of us prefer to keep the lectio difficilior *noenu* of M² at VII. 3, 10, simply because Nicias, who is apparently quoted here, was an editor of Lucilius, who used the archaic word. Finally Sjögren has done nothing to improve the traditional reading of VII. 7, 6, which keeps a meaningless *enim*. On p. 240 of this volume of the *A.J.P.* I have attempted to explain the Ms. reading of the passage.

Sjögren's recension is not only indispensable for Ciceronian studies but it is also a model of what recensions should be.

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Hennig Brinkmann. Zum Ursprung des liturgischen Spieles. Bonn: Verlag von Friedrich Cohen, 1929. Pp. 40. 1.80 M.

After summarizing the contributions to the subject of E. K. Chambers, Neil Brooks, Schwietering and, above all, of Karl Young, Brinkmann attempts to analyse for himself the motivating forces that brought the liturgical drama into being at a given time and in a particular place. Why, he asks, should the Easter

trope, *Quem quaeritis in sepulchro,*—and no other trope or ceremony—and why this very trope only after it had been transferred from Mass to Matins—have contained the quickened seed of the mediaeval drama? Because, he answers, the *Quem quaeritis* in its transition from the sad questioning of the Maries (*submissa voce*) to the jubilant *Surrexit* of the Angel (*alta voce*) exactly mirrored the transition from the mourning of Lent to the joy of Easter, and because in its new position—it was sung just after the doors of the church were thrown open to the laity and before the *Te Deum* commemorating the hour of the Resurrection—it served to give actuality to the culminating moment of the ecclesiastical year.

Except in minor details, Brinkmann builds upon the firm foundations laid down by his predecessors. He differs from Young in not regarding the reservation of a host on Holy Thursday for the Mass of Good Friday as among the formative antecedents of the Depositio and Elevatio, in positing Roman influence rather than a Roman origin for these ceremonies, and in showing that the original position of the Elevatio was not that later occupied by the Visitatio. He differs from Schwietering in not believing that the enkindling spark of the drama lay in "jenem unvergleichlichen Umschwung" from the sorrowing of Lent to the rejoicing of Easter. He overrates, however, his own expansion of this idea: it is only *after* the *Quem quaeritis* has become true drama that we find attached to it such directions as *humile, tremulae, submissa* and *alta voce*. The contemporary tendency to elaborate and make manifest by mimetic action the allegorical content of the church services and ceremonials, the dialogued structure of the Easter trope, its antiphonal presentation, its freedom to develop when detached from the Mass and transferred to Matins, its connection there with the nearly dramatic ceremonies of the Elevatio and Depositio, to which it served as climax, its chanting after the laity were admitted to the church before the singing of the commemorative *Te Deum*— all these factors contain within themselves, especially when combined, enough germs of dramatic life to explain the dramatic evolution of the Visitatio without unduly stressing the fact that the transition of tone within the trope itself reflected the spirit of the season.

On the whole, the value of Brinkmann's paper lies less in its original contributions to the subject, though these are not without interest, than in its convenient and generally sane interpretation of much scattered evidence.

GRACE FRANK.

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE.

St. Andrews University Publications, XXIII. Palaeographia Latina. Part V. Edited by Prof. W. M. LINDSAY. Oxford University, New York, 1927. Pp. 78; nine plates. $1.75.

Lindsay's serial continues to be of the utmost interest and value. This number contains six articles and nine excellent facsimiles. K. Löffler describes a group of ninth-century MSS from Weingarten in the Stuttgart Library and concludes with much probability that they were written in Constance, which thus becomes a "Rhaetian" center, beside Reichenau and St. Gall. Lindsay discusses some early MSS of Belgium and Holland, which show interesting "degeneration" of Irish traits; he pays his respects also again to the much overvalued medieval glossaries. Lowe calls attention to a leaf in the Corbie b-type, bound up in Paris. Lat. 4808. Dom DeBruyne has unearthed a new abbreviation, het = haeret, from an Anglo-Saxon fragment. Mlle. Dobiache-Rojdestwensky of the Leningrad Library has ascertained that the scribe of Petropol. F. V. I, 6 (Corbie) was named Ingreus. Rand contributes an astoundingly acute and painstaking study of the ruling and facing of the pages in Tours MSS—a new criterion of value for dating and other classification. It is a pity these valuable articles are so unworthily printed.

CHARLES UPSON CLARK.

NORTH HATLEY, QUEBEC.

Aeneae Silvii de Curialium Miseriis Epistola, edited with Introducton and Notes by WILFRED P. MUSTARD. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. $1.50.

MUSTARD continues his studies in the Renaissance Pastoral with this excellent little edition of a letter interesting as the model of the earliest English "egloges"—Alexander Barclay's "Miseries of Courtiers"; in an appendix he prints several extracts which show close rendering of the Latin.

Aeneas Silvius, whose ancestral home still fronts on the picturesque square of Pienza (near Sienna), and who became Pope in 1458, was one of the best educated and most experienced statesmen of the fifteenth century. Out of the wealth of his observations as a high official in the German Empire, he produced this amusing sketch of the courtier's tribulations. Mustard's notes, which are a model of conciseness, point out his constant exploitation of Juvenal, Cicero, Horace and other classical and medieval writers, and explain such unusual words as jocalia (jewels) and zinzalis (mosquitos). The text pictures vividly

the life of that day, and its mishaps, as when (to quote Barclay's translation) :

> The platters shall passe oft times to and fro
> And ouer thy shoulders and head shall they go,
> And oft all the broth and licour fat
> Is spilt on thy gowne, thy bonet and thy hat.

The book is handy and well printed, and forms an admirable text for a class in late Latin.

CHARLES UPSON CLARK.

NORTH HATLEY, QUEBEC.

ERRATA.

P. 256, l. 189, delete the acute accent on the last letter of ερητυσασκε.

P. 258, l. 228, read θ]εος.

CLINTON W. KEYES.

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